

**XX.—Monograph on the Oxus. By Major-General Sir H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., President R.G.S.**

[This paper was read at the meeting of the British Association at Liverpool in September 1870, and was intended to form the first chapter of a "Memoir on the Oxus," which I hoped to publish entire in the 'Geographical Journal' for that year. The preoccupation of my time, however, has prevented me from completing the two other chapters of the Memoir up to the present day; and I will no longer therefore delay the publication of the Introduction. I shall finish the remaining portion as soon as I can command sufficient leisure, but cannot now expect that it will possess much novelty or interest, as Colonel Yule has in the meantime pretty well exhausted the geography of the region.—H. C. R., April 1871.]

**PART I.**

IT would seem convenient at the present time, when the Oxus attracts so much attention as the natural and proximate boundary between the Russian and British dependencies in the East, that an attempt should be made to place before the public, in a condensed form, the varied information we possess from scattered and miscellaneous sources, with regard to the course of this river, and its affluents, from its rise in the Pamir to its embouchures in the Aral and the Caspian seas. For such a purpose it will be necessary to combine the observations of British and Russian explorers, with the less reliable reports of native travellers, and to compare the results which may be thus obtained with all those notices of Oriental authors that are original, or bespeak a personal acquaintance with the country; and it is the more desirable that the ample, though in some respects conflicting, materials which I have noticed should be now subjected to a conscientious scrutiny, as the geography of the Upper Oxus has been grievously disfigured of late years, by a series of fictitious travels, which have been palmed off on the scientific world, both in London and St. Petersburg, as genuine documents, and have been adopted to a greater or less extent into the official, or quasi-official, maps of both countries. A full discussion of this question of literary forgery, affecting as it does the geography of all Central Asia, would be out of place perhaps in a paper which treats exclusively of the Oxus; but on the other hand, as it will be necessary to eliminate from future maps of the river the gross inaccuracies which Russian cartographers have introduced, some account of the sources from which their errors have arisen can hardly be dispensed with. It may be explained, then, that in 1861, Monsieur Veniukoff first drew attention to two remarkable documents, which he had disinterred from the archives of the Etat-Major at St. Petersburg, and

which appeared to him to have an important bearing on the geography of Central Asia. One of these was the manuscript journal of an English expedition, said to have proceeded in quest of horses, towards the close of the last century, from Cashmere to the Kirghiz Steppe; and the other was the translation by Klaproth of a Chinese Itinerary, which passed over a good deal of the same ground as was traversed by the so-called English expedition, so that the two independent documents might apparently be used for mutual illustration.\* I had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with either of these papers, except in name, till 1865, when, on perusing an abstract of the so-called English journal, furnished by Monsieur Khanikoff to Sir Roderick Murchison, I pronounced the whole story to be "an elaborate hoax."

My reasons for arriving at this unfavourable conclusion, on the ground mainly of internal evidence, were communicated to the Geographical Society of London, on March 26, 1866, and are to be found in Vol. X. No. IV. of our 'Proceedings.' In London my arguments seem to have met with a ready assent; but M. Khanikoff, on being informed of them, at once took up the cudgels in defence of the Russian manuscript, and his letters on the subject, together with two chapters of the text, cited in support, and a rejoinder from Lord Strangford, arguing against the authenticity of the narrative, were severally published in our 'Proceedings,' Vol. X. No. VI. In the meantime, while prosecuting further inquiries into the matter, in connection with an article on "Central Asia" which I was writing for the 'Quarterly Review,' I discovered that a third paper, a MS. Report by Klaproth, which bore a most suspicious resemblance, both in form and in subject-matter, to the Russian document—purporting, in fact, to be the journal of a Russian expedition sent towards India—was deposited in the archives of our own Foreign Office; and to this circumstance, accordingly, I drew attention in a note to the 'Quarterly Review' article (No. 240, page 480), in which I suggested that the double mystification of the Russian and English governments would probably be found to proceed from the same individual. Lord Strangford, acting on this hint with his accustomed energy, and having access for the first time to the original papers of Veniukoff, which were published in the London 'Geographical Journal,' vol. xxxvi. pages 248-279, obtained Lord Stanley's permission to examine the Foreign Office MS., and soon satisfied himself

\* The first public announcement to British geographers of the existence of these extraordinary papers was contained in a note to page 50 of Michell's 'Russians in Central Asia,' which was published in 1865, but I had seen the sheets of this work some two or three years previously.

that my conjecture was correct.\* He stated his general views upon the subject at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held on November 9, 1868 (see 'Proceedings,' Vol. XIII. No. i. page 20), and but for his untimely death, would have instituted and published an elaborate comparison between the three documents in question, the result of which must have been to put an end to all controversy. I should esteem it a duty to Lord Strangford's memory to take up the argument at the point where he left it, and carry it to its legitimate issue, if the interests of geographical science were really at stake; but for all practical purposes, the exposure of the Klaproth imposture is already complete.† It has been shown by Lord Strangford, 1st, that the Geography of the three incriminated memoirs, which in each case professes to be the result of actual observation, is essentially wrong, and that the travels are therefore self-condemned; 2ndly, that the same errors, especially in regard to the country between Cashmere and Pamir, are common to all

\* The Klaproth MS. in the Foreign Office claims to be the confidential report of a Russian Surveying Expedition, sent from Semipolatinsk to the Indian frontier, by the Emperor Paul, in the years 1801-1802. The MS. was entrusted to Klaproth, as he says, for geographical purposes in 1806, when he was in the employment of the Russian Government, and he made a translation of the document into German for his own private use. This translation, with a re-translation into English and two copies of the sketch routes, most elaborately and beautifully executed in sections, were bound up in a volume and sold by Klaproth to the British Government, for the large sum, as it is said, of 1000 guineas. There is positively nothing of political importance, or even interest, in the volume (except the assertion that it is perfectly practicable to march a large European army from Siberia to the Cashmere frontier), and the geography south of the Thian-shan Range is not in any instance to be depended on, so that our purchase of the volume was hardly a profitable bargain. Bound up with this volume there is also a MS. Map of Central Asia in 6 sheets, laid down by Klaproth in his own handwriting, in 1822, together with a memorandum, in which he says, "For the western part of Thibet, the Penjab and Hindustan, I had no other materials than those furnished by Mr. Arrowsmith's Maps." This is certainly untrue, as a comparison of the maps will show, and indicates, as I think, intentional deception.

† M. Khanikoff has hitherto, as far as can be ascertained from his published opinions, resolutely resisted all the evidence brought forward to impugn the authenticity of the Russian MSS. Abandoning the position which he at first took up, that the British Expedition must have been organised at the commencement of the present century as opposed to the stubborn facts of Indian official history, he has rendered a direct refutation of his views more difficult by throwing back the date of the German Baron's travels some thirty or forty years into the last century; and he assumes, indeed, to have found a confirmation of this earlier date in the Baron's allusion to the battle between the Chinese and Badakhshānis in 1759; but it is now quite certain that this reference was introduced designedly into the spurious journal for the mere purpose of deception. Khanikoff, I may add, received the full approbation of the President of the Paris Geographical Society, in his mistaken, but honest efforts to uphold the authenticity of the German travels, and it would be interesting, therefore, to know if these great authorities still adhere to their belief in the *bona fides* of the Baron's narrative, or if the discovery of the Klaproth MS. in our Foreign Office and the extension of local research, both English and Russian, has at length convinced them that they have been the victims of what I ventured to call at the outset "an elaborate hoax."

three papers, and are not to be traced in any other independent authority; 3rdly, that as two of the documents avowedly spring from Klaproth—one being a pretended translation by him from a Chinese original, and the other a pretended copy by him of a confidential Russian paper surreptitiously obtained from the official archives\*—it is only reasonable to conclude that he is

\* The following comparative précis of the routes from the Indus to Badakhshán, which I have extracted respectively from the Foreign Office MS., and from the Chinese Itinerary, as epitomized by Veniukoff, (see Geographical 'Proceedings,' Vol. XIII. No. v. p. 34,) and which may be taken as an example of their general agreement, will afford conclusive evidence that the two accounts, equally spurious, must proceed from the same source.

#### CHINESE ITINERARY.

Dimganga, on the Upper Indus. Road to the West Indus affluents, namely, Pungbu, Ongo, Utanghi, and Ghermuk. Beyond junction of Ghermuk and Tugtakhiru. Cross the Bolor Range at Mount Olgomurdi. Santradu and Kof streams, beyond snowy range.

Town of Dairim, famous for grapes. Stream of Ubgaritu (with Lapis Lazuli mines); passes town of Erghen, Lakes of Ghalun and Ush, and fort of Yabtuar, to Badakhshán.

#### KLAPROTH MS. IN FOREIGN OFFICE.

Expedition winters at Dimgong. Cross range to Ongo, which joins Rungba and falls into Indus; beyond streams of Urtanaghi and Germuk. Cross Tukturghir running east. Mountain of Olgomurdi in snowy range. Cross the range to rivers of Santradu and Kof.

Town of Dairim, on rocky hill. Plain watered by Upgaritu. Town of Ergu, near Lake Ghalun. Mines of copper, Lapis Lazuli, &c. &c. River of Upgaritu flows by Lake Ush and fort of Yabtar to Badakhshán, where it is called the Kokcha.

It will thus be seen that every name that is quoted by Veniukoff from the Chinese Itinerary occurs in the Klaproth MS., and probably if Veniukoff's extracts had been fuller, the identity of the two documents would have been more conspicuous. At the same time this pretended derivation of the stream of the Kokcha from the eastern positions of Dairim and Ergu, and its course through a fertile valley, studded with lakes, is entirely fabulous. Wood having traced up the rocky bed of the river almost to its source, when he visited the Lapis Lazuli mines 40 miles north of Jerm. Klaproth, however, always contrived to mix fact and fiction in a most bewildering manner. The Lapis Lazuli mines do actually exist on the line of the Upper Kokcha, and the name of Ergu or Erghen is especially applicable to such a locality. (Compare the many Arganas in the Taurus each with its mines of copper, silver, &c.; the Arghan-jika of Wood, p. 304, with its iron mine, &c.) Further, these names of Dairim and Ergu are really associated in another part of Badakhshán, being the names of two parallel valleys, which are crossed on the high road leading into the province from the west, each with an independent stream flowing into the Kokcha in the lower part of its course.

A circumstance which at one time added much to my mystification in regard to this fabulous geography, was the discovery that Colonel Gardiner, who certainly did visit Badakhshán in person, had in his description of the Kokcha corroborated the statements of Klaproth in the most remarkable manner. Not only did I find that he had given the same extended course to the river in a fertile valley from east to west, but under the disguised orthography of his nomenclature, which always requires the art of a decipherer to render it intelligible, I recognised the familiar names of Dairim and Ergu, of Lakes Ghalun and Ush, and of the fort of Yabtuar. Now as it was a moral impossibility that Colonel Gardiner could have ever seen the fabricated MSS., I was, I confess, very much impressed at first by this strange coincidence of name and general description; but after a careful

also the author of the third, or, at any rate, was concerned in its fabrication; and it may be further added that, assuming interested motives rather than a mere love of mystification to have led to the manufacture of the travels, the money value of the articles in the respective markets will explain why the intercepted Russian report was transferred to the English Foreign Office, while the Indian papers were consigned to the archives of St. Petersburg; the Chinese Itinerary being at the same time invented to vouch as an independent Geographical authority, for the genuineness and consequent political value of the other documents.\* Such being the present aspect

examination I found that all Colonel Gardiner's geography of the Upper Oxus and the surrounding countries, however overlaid with imaginary names, or in some few cases improved and verified by actual observation, was as a rule dependent for its foundation on Arrowsmith's Map of 1834; and when at the same time I remembered that this map was itself laid down in regard to its eastern portion from the Foreign Office MS., the mystery was at once dispelled, and I became aware that what seemed to be an independent corroboration was in reality nothing more than a repetition of the original fiction; that in fact we were moving in a vicious circle.

Lord Strangford, in his last address to the Geographical Society ('Proceedings,' Vol. XIIL No. I. p. 21), explained how Arrowsmith in constructing his map of 1834 came to be imposed upon by the Klaproth forgeries; and thus by anticipation answered Veninkoff's argument ('Geographical Proceedings,' Vol. XIII. No. V. p. 346) that the Dairim of the Chinese Itinerary must needs be genuine, because the town was duly inserted in the previously published English map. It is, no doubt, much to be regretted that Arrowsmith, whose general accuracy is proverbial, should have given currency to the mischievous fictions of Klaproth, and in the matter of the Bolor River and Wakhán, should have thus led astray so good a geographer as Humboldt (see 'Asie Centrale,' tome ii. p. 371); but he acted at any rate in perfect good faith, and in some measure on official authority, as the Klaproth MS. had been purchased for a large sum by Mr. Canning for our Foreign Office, and its genuineness was at that time unimpugned.

\* The fabrication of the Foreign Office MS. and of the Chinese Itinerary can be brought home to Klaproth, I think, positively and with almost mathematical precision, but the attribution to him of the German Baron's narrative does not rest quite on the same determinate evidence. The strong point against Klaproth is that, attached to the Foreign Office MS. (and independently of the sections with which the Itinerary is illustrated, precisely in the same way as the St. Petersburg MS. is also illustrated with sections), there is a general map of Central Asia in 6 sheets, drawn up in Klaproth's own handwriting, which represents Cashmere under the same distorted features, and with the same fictitious local nomenclature that are to be found in the Baron's pretended travels. Thus, between the town of Srinagar and the Indus (the interval being reduced from 200 to about 50 miles) we have in the map the following stations: Savana, Oushkur, Durtehang on river, Beritanis, Gelibaram, Kermawadi, Birlouumba, and Paribawa on the banks of the Indus, every one of these names being fictitious, but every one occurring precisely in the same order both in the Memoirs and in the map of the German Baron, as may be seen on a reference to the tracing which was prefixed to Vol. X. No. VI. of the Geographical 'Proceedings.' Now Lord Strangford was of opinion that this agreement in a false geography, not otherwise known to exist, proved one of two things, either that Klaproth must have copied his map from that of the German Baron, the asserted recent discovery of the latter document being thus shown to be untrue, or that he was himself the author of both of the fabricated Journals. There does, however, seem to be an alternative explanation that both Klaproth and the inventor of the Baron's travels may have copied from a third spurious original, which is as yet undiscovered; and I am the rather inclined to

of the question, it will only be necessary, I think, to point out Klaproth's false geography of the Oxus before seeking to restore its true geography. As the travels described in the Klaproth MSS. pass in one instance from Cashmere direct to the Pamír Steppe, and in the other two instances from Northern Baltistán through Badakhshán to the same table-land, it is evident that each line of route transects all the head-waters of the Oxus; and if genuine would thus afford invaluable aid in testing the accuracy of the more ordinary routes which run from west to east parallel to the upper affluents of the river; but it need hardly be said that no such aid is really afforded. There are two radical errors, indeed, in Klaproth's Geography of the Oxus, which not only vitiate his whole system, but which render it impossible to lay down, even approximately, on a true map of the country, the routes which he describes. In one direction he interposes between the Chitrál Valley and the upper basin of the Oxus, a third parallel valley through which he brings the Badakhshán or Kokcha River from the vicinity of the Indus, whereas we know that there is no such valley, but that a single mountain chain, the continuation of the Kuen-Luen, which is of no great breadth, and is traversed by well-frequented passes at several different points, alone separates the Chitrál or Mastúj Valley from the Oxus—the courses of the Kokcha and its tributaries, which have been examined by Lieutenant Wood and our native explorers almost to their sources in this very range of mountains, being south and north, instead of east and west.\* In the region north of

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attach some weight to this hypothesis that beyond the Indus, Klaproth's Map exhibits no similarity whatever to the Baron's Journal, either in nomenclature or in the general description of the country; and it certainly does seem extraordinary if Klaproth really invented the Baron's story and tracings that he should not have reproduced the fictions in constructing his own subsequent map. The same anomaly, however, occurs in respect to the relation between the spurious Russian travels and Klaproth's Map, which is included in the same MS. volume, the route from Dimgong on the Indus, westward, which forms a prominent feature in the geography of the one, being entirely ignored in the other.

\* I have already alluded to the errors which crept into Arrowsmith's Map of Central Asia, published in 1834, through the medium of the fabricated Klaproth Journals. These errors mainly relate to the upper course of the Kokcha and to the Bolor or Vochan River, and can easily be corrected; but in the same map there are other indications of a very doubtful character relating to the geography of the country between India and the Oxus, for which Klaproth is not responsible, and the source of which until lately I had failed to discover. Having recently, however, had an opportunity of consulting a copy of a most elaborate map of the north-west frontier of India, compiled by Wilford at the commencement of the century, but never published, I have found in that document all the apocryphal names of places in the Chitral and Gilgit valleys, and the neighbouring mountains which appear in Arrowsmith's Map, and for which I have been long trying in vain to discover his authority; so that I cannot now doubt but that Sir A. Burnes must have seen Wilford's Manuscript Map, and communicated its contents

the Oxus, Klaproth's indications are even more irreconcilable with our knowledge of the country, inasmuch as, instead of describing a series of streams of greater or less volume draining off to the south-west the overflowings of the Pamír uplands, he invents a great Bolor river which runs through Pamír from south to north, passes two imaginary cities of Bolor and Vokhán, and ultimately finds its way to the Oxus at some unknown point of junction.

It would really be a waste of time to follow this fabulous geography in detail. Klaproth, or whoever was the true author of the several manuscripts, may have conversed with persons who had really traversed Badakhshán in passing between India and Turkestán, since there is not only a general air of verisimilitude in the description of the natural products of the mountains and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, but names are also given which actually exist in the country (though not in these precise localities), and which could hardly, therefore, have been learnt except from genuine travellers in the region described; but, having admitted so much, I have said all that is to be said in favour of the apocryphal travels.\*

to Arrowsmith when the latter was employed in illustrating the journey of our famous traveller from India to Bokhara.

Another remarkable instance of erroneous geographical nomenclature which originated with Macartney has been preserved, and indeed assigned a prominent place in Arrowsmith's Map of 1834; I allude to the name of *Tootookan-Mutkunee*, which is applied on the map in question to the culminating peak of the Indian Caucasus, and by which, accordingly, the entire range from Cashmere to Badakhshán has been since very frequently distinguished. In reality, however, Tootookan and Mutkunee are the names of two small villages at the junction of the Swát and Penjkorah rivers, at least 100 miles distant from the peaks of the Caucasus, and the translation of such names from the plains to the mountains is a notable example of the want of precision in our early map-makers. Macartney, indeed, observing from Peshawer some hills on the far horizon in the same direction as the two villages of Tootookan and Mutkunee, and estimating the course of the Swát River which filled up the interval between the two points at much less than its real extent, thought it sufficient to designate the range by the name of Tootookan-Mutkunee Mountains, that is, the mountains from which descended a stream that passed through a short and narrow valley to the villages of Tootookan and Mutkunee. The origin of the name being overlooked, Tootookan Mutkunee has thus come to be regarded as the special title of the prolongation of the Hindú-Kásh, and much geographical confusion has arisen in consequence.

\* Lord Strangford was of opinion that Macartney's map, prefixed to Mr. Elphinstone's 'Cábul,' was the geographical basis on which the Klaproth forgeries mainly rested; and in so far as regards the erroneous configuration of Cashmere, and the near contiguity of Srinagar to the Indus, this explanation would seem to be correct; but many independent sources of information, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, and above all the oral accounts of travellers, must have been also laid under contribution, in the attempted delineation of the regions north of the snowy range. The name of Bolor, indeed, which may be called the pivot of all this spurious geography of Central Asia, bears direct evidence to the historical sources from which it is derived, for this title, although in general use amongst writers from the 10th to the 17th century, has become obsolete in the country ever since, and was certainly quite unknown at the date of these pretended travels, whether applied to a river, or to a city, or to a range of mountains. With regard to the

They are to be branded on the whole as mischievous, and probably interested, fictions, which have misled honest and pains-taking geographers, have impeded research, and, so long as the imposture remained unexposed, have placed an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the true delineation of the hydrography of the Upper Oxus.

The present inquiry naturally opens with a glance at the antiquities of the region in which the Oxus takes its rise. There is no need of an elaborate discussion, for the subject has been extensively, not to say exhaustively, treated both by Humboldt and Ritter; but I still desire to draw attention to certain points which do not seem as yet to have received sufficient consideration. The region, then, I may say, which embraces the head-waters of the Oxus is not of less interest geographically and politically than it is on account of its connection with the primitive traditions of the Aryan race. Whether Bournouf may or may not be right in regarding the term *Pámír* as a contraction of *Upá Méru* ("the country above Mount Meru"),\* and in thus associating the name directly with the holiest spot in the Brahmanical cosmogony, it is certain that the geographical indications of the Puráñas do all point to this quarter of Central Asia as the scene of the primeval Aryan Paradise. Professor Wilson, in narrating the ordinary version of the Puranic story, which describes the division of the Ganges into four great streams as it falls from heaven on Méru and flows on to the surrounding worlds, remarks that, "considered in any but a fabulous light, Mount Méru appears to mean the highland of Tartary, immediately to the north of the Himálaya Mountains;"† and if we

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remarkably correct description of Kaferistan, which is given in the German Baron's 'Memoir,' and the citation of actual words from the Kafir language, I can only suppose that the author borrowed from Mollah Nejib's 'Memoir,' published in the Appendix to Elphinstone's 'Cabul,' vol. ii. p. 373; but in that case the Russian MSS. must be later by some years than the date which it bears of 1806, as Elphinstone's first edition was published in 1814. M. Khanikoff has recently stated to me, as a further argument in favour of the authenticity of the Baron's travels, that his map contains an accurate delineation of the famous Iskender Kúl, in the valley of the Zar-afshan, which is a recent discovery, and was not even known to geography when Lehmann surveyed the district in 1840; but I have pointed out in reply that Klaproth may very well have obtained a knowledge of this picturesque Alpine lake from Baber's 'Memoirs,' where it is accurately described, though the locality has not hitherto been recognised, owing to Erskine having read the name as *Kán* instead of *Fán*.—See Baber's Mem., Eng. translation, p. 85.

\* 'Asie Centrale,' tome i. p. 104, and tome ii. p. 390. My own conjecture is that the name of *Pámír*, or *Fámír*, as it is always written by the Arabs, is derived from the *Fáni* (Φάννοι), who, according to Strabo, bounded the Greek kingdom of Bactria to the east (Strab. lib. xi. c. 14), and whose name is also preserved in *Fán-táú*, the *Fán* Lake, &c. *Fámír*, for *Fán-mír*, would then be a compound like *Kash-mír*, *Aj-mír*, *Jessel-mír*, &c., signifying, "the lake country of the *Fáni*."

† Sanscrit Dictionary, *in voce Méru*.

had only the Sanscrit authorities to consult, this general explanation would be all that we could safely accept. But we are fortunately not limited to Sanscrit geography. The Puráñas were supplemented by the traditions and travels of the Buddhists; and in these later sources of information we often find evidence of so direct a nature as almost to meet the requirements of modern science. Thus, in regard to the four rivers of the Aryan Paradise—which were named by the Brahmans, 1. The Sita; 2. The Alakananda; 3. The Vakhshu; and 4. The Bhadra\*—the Buddhists varied both the order and the nomenclature, classing the four rivers as—1. The Ganges; 2. The Indus; 3. The Oxus; and 4. The Sita;† and further deriving these from a great central lake, which was named *A-neou-ta*, and one of the representatives of which was either the Kara-kúl or the Sarík-kúl Lake of Pamír.‡ The learned Buddhist traveller, indeed, Hiuen-thsang, who was profoundly versed in the religious antiquities of his people, and who visited

\* See 'Vishnu Purana,' p. 170, and Siddhanta Siromani. Professor Wilson considers the *Sita*, running to the east, to be the Hoangho; the *Alakananda*, running to the south, to be the main stream of the Ganges; the *Bhadra*, to the north, to be the Oby of Siberia; and the *Vakhshu* (or, as he writes it, the *Chakhshu*), running to the west, to be the Oxus. Wilford, in examining the same legend ('Asiat. Res.' vol. viii. p. 313), agrees with Professor Wilson as to the Ganges, the Oxus, and the Hoangho, but would substitute the Jenisea for the Oby, as the representative of the Bhadra. If any Siberian river, however, was known to the Indians, it was probably the Irtish, which is mentioned by Masúdi in both his works: "The meadows of gold," and the *Tenbih*, though strangely enough his French and English translators have neglected to compare the two accounts. (See 'Les Prairies d'Or,' tome i. p. 213; Sprenger's 'Masúdi,' p. 244; and 'Not. et Ext: des Man.,' tome viii. p. 154.) With regard also to the identity of the *Sita* with the Hoangho, it is necessary to explain that the *Sita* (usually derived from *Sita*, "cold," but more probably meaning "yellow,") represented properly the river system of Kashghar and Yarkend, which disengaged in Lob Nor, and that it was only because the Chinese imagined the water of the lake to pass underground, and give rise to the Yellow River, some 1000 miles to the eastward, that any connection could be suggested between the two names.—See 'Vie et Voyages de Hiuen-tsang,' p. 273.

† The various orthographies of these names are given by Remusat as follows:—

	Ganges.	Indus.	Oxus.	Sita.
Indian ..	Ganga.	Sindhous.	Vakshou.	Sita.
Chinese ..	Heng-kia.	Sin-tou.	Fo-thsou.	Si-to.
Mongol ..	Ganga.	Childa.	Baktchou.	Aripara.
..	Ganga.	Sidda.	Baktchi.	Chida.
Thibetan ..	Gan-hgis.	Sindhous.	Paktchhou.	Sida.

(See 'Foe-kone-ki,' p. 36.) The vernacular *Vakhsh* exactly reproduces the original Sanscrit name of the Oxus; and although the name of *Sita*, or *Sida*, for the eastern river is now lost, it occupies a prominent place in the geography of the Búndehesh. Wilford ('Asiat. Res.' viii. p. 322) confounds the third and fourth river of the Buddhists, making the *Pahkiu* (for *Pakchu*) the Brahma-putra, and the *Sita* the Oxus.

‡ The other representative of this lake—for Buddhist tradition varied regarding *Anawadata*, as Brahman tradition varied about *Mánasarawar*—was the *Ravanhada* of Thibet. (See 'Asie Centrale,' ii. p. 418, 'Foe-kone-ki,' (Klaproth's note) p. 37; Wilford in 'Asiat. Res.' viii. p. 327 seqq.)

the sources of the Oxus on his return from India to China in A.D. 644, recognised in the Tsong-ling, or Pamír chain, the Súmerú of his national cosmography, occupying the centre of Jambú-dwípa; and further stated that the great lake in the centre of the plateau—known to the Chinese as the Dragon Lake—from which one stream flowed westward to the Po-tsú, or Oxus, and another eastward to the Sito, or River of Kashghar, corresponded to the *A-neou* (or *Anava*) of the Sacred Books.\* Strictly speaking, of course, it is impossible to name any particular lake, or even lake district, in Central Asia, from which four great Asiatic rivers may be said to radiate; but Wood, in repeating the popular notion of Pamír geography which he found to be current in the country, has no doubt furnished us with an explanation of the origin of the old legend of a four-rivered Aryan Paradise. He observes that "The hills and mountains which encircle Sir-i-kol (Lake Victoria) give rise to some of the principal rivers in Asia. From the ridge at its east end flows a branch of the Yarkend River, one of the largest streams that waters China; while from its low hills on the northern side rises the Sirr, or River of Kokan; and from the snowy chain opposite, both forks of the Oxus, as well as a branch of the River Kuner, are supplied."† Now, if this

\* See 'Vie et Voyages de Hiuen-tsang,' p. 272. Reinaud has already drawn attention to this passage in his Introduction to Abulfeda's 'Geography,' p. 216. Mons. Julien supposes the Chinese notice to refer to Wood's lake, improperly called Sir-i-kol, and it is quite possible he may be right, as this lake is far nearer the direct line of route, east and west, than the northern lake of Kara-kúl. Klaproth, however, has always taken it for granted that the Dragon lake of the Chinese is Kara-kúl; (comp. Beal's 'Fa-hian,' p. 182; and see Klaproth's 'Carte de l'Asie Centrale,' 1836.) Humboldt discusses the question at length in his 'Asie Centrale,' tom. ii. pp. 404 to 412, and inclines on the whole to identify Wood's Sir-i-kol with the Dragon Lake of the Buddhist travellers. Klaproth, indeed, seems to have preferred the Kara-kúl as the representative of the Dragon lake, mainly because he believed the Yaman-yar, or river of Kashghar, to issue from it; but Hayward throws the greatest doubt on this presumed source of the Kashghar river, and further denies that any such name as Yaman-yar is known in the country. It would be curious to ascertain where Klaproth first found the name of Yaman-yar. It certainly does not occur in the Tarikh-i-Rashídí, where most of the streams of this river-system are named; and Valikhanoff, who alone of modern travellers employs the title, admits that he took it from the Russian maps.—('Russians in Central Asia,' p. 116.) Gardiner names the Yaman-yar ('As. Soc. Journ.' for 1853, p. 296), but his evidence is never of much weight. In the Foreign Office MS. *Yamanyar* is said to mean "having bad banks." Klaproth may have taken the name from a genuine Chinese authority; the same sources having furnished him with the name of *Derbitchek* for the northern arm of the Kashghar river, and with that of *Dimganga* for a town on the Upper Indus.—'Russians in Central Asia,' p. 523; 'Mag. Asiatique,' tome ii. p. 228. It is to be observed that Hiuen-tsang uses the abbreviated form *A-neou* (for *Anava*) instead of the full name, *A-neou-tha* (for *A-neou-tatta*, "not lighted"); but he certainly means the same place. Wilford employs the vernacular form, *Anaudat*.

† Wood's 'Source of the River Oxus,' p. 356. Burnes had already, with a still greater latitude of description, derived the Jaxartes, the Oxus, and a branch of the Indus directly from Lake *Surikol*.—'Travels to Bokhara,' vol. iii. p. 180.

description were correct—which, however, it is not, for in no sense can the *Sirr*, or Jaxartes, be said to rise in the Pamír, and the derivation even of the Kashghar River from the upper plateau requires confirmation—it would directly account for the Sita, the Bhadra, the Vakhshu, and the Sindu of the old legend;\* and we might suppose the substitution of the Ganges to be due to a later age, when the Aryans were already settled in Kurukhshetra; but the fact is, it would be unreasonable to expect complete accuracy of detail in these ancient myths. All that we have a right to infer from their general verisimilitude is this: that the many-rivered wealth of Pamír had so impressed the imagination of the primitive Aryan colonists that in their subsequent migrations to the southward, and with a more extended geographical knowledge, they transferred the physical features of the father-land to the abode of Brahma and the gods; precisely in the same way as the Semitic Jews, with a singular coincidence of detail, after being transplanted to the coast of Syria, preserved in their delineation of a terrestrial Paradise the memory, traditionally handed down, of their old habitat in Babylonia between the Tigris and Euphrates.†

Another ancient Aryan legend, which seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of all writers on ethnology, confirms, in the most satisfactory manner, this presumed connection between the head-streams of the Oxus descending from Pamír and the several rivers of Asia which were fabled to fall from heaven upon Mount Méru and then to flow on to the surrounding worlds. According to the ordinary version of the Puranic

\* In this proposed explanation, it will be seen that I assume the Bhadra to be represented by the Jaxartes, and certainly it would seem more natural to accept of this identification than to search for the northern effluent of Méru in the unknown wilds of Siberia. At the same time, it must be admitted that there is no etymological evidence to connect the Bhadra with the Jaxartes. The latter name was probably derived from the Sanscrit root *क्षर* *Kshar*, "to flow" (with a Semitic feminine ending); and this etymology would explain the modern form of *Sirr*, as well as Pliny's translation of *Silin*, *sil*, *سیل*, having the same meaning in Persian ("flowing") as *Kshar* in Sanscrit. Jaxartes, however, for *Iksbarat*, is no doubt a genuine old term, as the 'Bundehesh' states that the river of Khojend was named *Eshared*, and Birúni, in his *Canún*, also employs the orthography of *خشت* *Khsharat* (possibly from the Greek) for the river of Shásh, or Tashkend.

† The similarity of the Indian myth of the four primeval rivers with the Mosaic account of Paradise, has been often noticed, but never at all satisfactorily explained.—See Wilford in 'Asiat. Res.', iii. p. 200; vi. p. 488; viii. p. 321; Faber's 'Pagan Idolatry,' i. p. 315; and 'Quarterly Review,' No. 240, p. 485, note. The derivation of the four rivers of Afghanistan from an imaginary central lake in the Hazareh mountains, to which I have alluded in the passage last quoted as a popular error of the early Persian geographers, is no doubt founded on some ancient Magian tradition regarding the holy mountains of Aprasín, though the exact legend is not to be found in the extant copy of the 'Bundehesh.'

legend, the Ganges, falling on Mount Méru, divided into four heads, in agreement with the popular belief, which assigned five sources to the Oxus and gave to the united waters the name of *Penj* ;\* but there was a different version of the fable, possessing nearly equal authority, which described the rivers flowing from Méru as seven,—three to the east, three to the west, and one to the south ;† and this version also had its parallel in the popular geography of Pamír, for the region of the Upper Oxus was known to the Iranian division of the Aryan race from the earliest times—as late, at any rate, as the eleventh century of Christ—by the name of the country of “the Seven Rivers.” The evidence on this point is direct and incontestable. In the first chapter of the ‘Vendidad,’ which, as is well known, contains a geographical summary of the primitive settlements of the Iranian race, there is the following passage :—“The fifteenth place, the fifteenth excellent country, which I, who am Ormazd, have created, is the country of *Hapta Hindu*, or the “Seven Rivers,” from the eastern river to the western river ;” and that this country of the Seven Rivers refers to the head-streams of the Oxus rather than to the head-streams of the Indus, as has been hitherto supposed,‡ is proved

\* It might be inferred from Wood that the upper Oxus took its name of *Penj* from the five small hillocks crowned with forts, which are met with below the junction of the two main streams, and which are called collectively *Kileh Penj* (Wood, p. 329); but I believe in truth that the fort was named from the river. At any rate, the following quotations from a manuscript history of Khorassan, which I shall often have occasion to quote, prove beyond dispute that the Oxus was called *Penj* because it was supposed to be formed of five rivers. “This mountain chain comes to a place called *Penj-áb*, where is the source of the *Jihún* (or Oxus) . . . . . “In the neighbourhood of *Khután* and *Wakhsh* five large streams unite, on which account the place is called *Penj-db.*” . . . . Again, Davies says from Md. Amin, “Five principal streams make up the *Dariya-i-Penj*, the name by which the Oxus is called, till it reaches Shighnán.”—‘Davies’s Reports,’ Appendix, p. 332. Compare also Macartney in Elphinstone’s ‘*Cabul*,’ v. 2, p. 408, and Erskine in Leyden’s ‘*Baber*,’ Introduction, p. 29.

† This version was adopted by the *Ramáyana* and *Mahábhárata*, and by the *Matsya* and *Padma* Puranas. The *Vayu* Purana has both legends. See ‘*Vishnu Purana*,’ p. 171, note 12, and Wilford’s description of the seven rivers, ‘*As. Res.*,’ viii. 336. The names which are usually given are three rivers flowing to the east, viz. :—1, *Nalini* (*Hoang-ho*) ; 2, *Pavani* (*Yang-tsé-kyang*) ; 3, *Hladini* (*Brahma-putra*) ; three rivers flowing to the west, viz., 4, *Sila* (*Jaxartes*?) ; 5, *Chakshu*, or *Suchakshu* (*Oxus*) ; 6, *Sindhu* (*Indus*) ; and one flowing to the south, viz., 7, *Bhágráthi* (or *Ganges*). Birúas copied the names probably from the *Ramayana*. See ‘*Historians of India*,’ i. p. 50.

‡ Bourouf, who has an elaborate note on this passage in his ‘*Essai sur le Yaçna*,’ notes, p. cxiii., decides that the allusion is to Northern India, and explains the mystical number of 7, by comparing the seven *kishwars*, or “climates” of the Persians, and the seven *dwípas*, or “insular continents,” of the Hindus. Lassen, on the other hand (‘*Ind. Alterthumakunde*,’ p. 3), prefers translating *Hapta Hindu* by “the seven rivers,” but understands these rivers to consist of the five streams of the *Penjáb*, together with the *Sarasvati*, and the *Indus*; and this explanation seems to be accepted by Breal, Spiegel, Haug, and Justi. See Khani-koff’s ‘*Asie Centrale*,’ p. 49, and his ‘*Ethnographie de la Perse*,’ p. 37. According

not only by the general order and distribution of the geographical list, but by the direct evidence of a very competent authority, the famous Abu Rihan El-Biruni, who says that even to his day (about A.D. 1020) the same old title survived amongst the Zoroastrian population of the province. "In the same way," he observes, "that at this place (below Multán) they call the united streams (of the Indus) 'the Five Rivers' (modern *Penj-áb*), so the several streams which flow from the northern side of the same mountains are called, when they unite near Termid and form the River of Balkh, 'the Seven Rivers.' The Magians (i. e. Zoroastrians), indeed, of Sughd make no distinction between these several rivers, but call the united waters the 'Saba' Sind' (i.e. the Seven Sinds or rivers)." \*

It is possible that a critical examination of the geography of the Puráñas, such as was contemplated by Abel Remusat, and partially executed by Wilson, in his 'Notes to the Vishnú Purána,' † might lead to some curious results as to the period and track of the various Aryan migrations, especially if the Puranic names were carefully compared with those preserved in the 'Vendidad,' the 'Yashts,' and the 'Bundehesh;' but the inquiry would need to be conducted with much caution, for not only is there a large admixture of the fabulous element both in the Zend and Sanscrit lists, but the names also are often so disfigured by a vicious orthography as to be hardly recognisable. A notable instance of this corrupt reading occurs in the name of the river which occupies the third place both in the Brahmanic and the Buddhist lists, and which, from the

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to the identifications, however, of these scholars, the three last names of the 'Vendidad' list will be Demavend in the extreme west, India in the extreme south, and Jaxartes in the extreme east, which I venture to assert is an impossible distribution in a catalogue evidently based on geographical order and contiguity. The 'Vendidad' list, like the 'Bundehesh' lists of rivers and mountains, closes unquestionably with localities which are all in the extreme east, and this alone is fatal to the identification of the *Hapta Hindu* with India. I would propose in preference to identify *Ragha* with Badakhshan, *Hapta Hindu* with the Upper Oxus Valley, and *Rājgha* with the Pamír plateau, where there are two lakes which still retain the name of *Riang-kul*.

\* It is singular that neither Sir Henry Elliot, who first translated the portion of the 'Jami'-ut-Towarikh,' in which this extract occurs, nor his recent editor, Professor Dowson, should have noticed the connection between the *Saba'-Sind* of the Arab historian and the *Hapta Hindu* of the 'Vendidad'; but when once attention is drawn to the passage, I feel sure there cannot be two opinions on the subject. I have consulted the India House MS. copy of the 'Jami-ut-Towarikh,' and have translated accordingly.

† See 'Foe-koue-ki,' note 1 to ch. viii. p. 46. Professor Wilson alludes to this challenge of Remusat's in his article on the Buddhist travels, 'Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.,' vol. v. p. 115, and anticipates that Lassen's 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' then in the course of preparation, will meet all the requirements of the case; but in reality there is more of Puranic geography in Professor Wilson's own notes to Book II. of the 'Vishnú Purána,' than in Lassen's entire work.

description, has been always identified with the Oxus. From the time of Wilford to the present day, no one seems to have ever doubted that the Sanscrit name of this river was the Chakshu, and much profound speculation has been wasted on the possible derivation of the title; but it now turns out that the first letter *च*, *ch*, is an error of the copyists for *व*, *v* ;\* and that the true reading of the Sanscrit term is *Vakshú*, answering to the "Οξος of the Greeks, to *Bakshu* in Mongolian, *Pakshu* in Thibetan, *Fo-tsu* in Chinese, and *Vakhsh-áu* or *Vakhsh-áb* in modern Arabic and Persian geography.† I shall not pretend

\* Wilford was the first to familiarize Sanscritists with the orthography of *Chakshú*, which he employs throughout his famous 'Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West' (see 'Asiat. Res.', viii. pp. 313, 330, 336, 358, &c.), and which with his usual fondness for fanciful etymologies, he insists on comparing with the modern name of *Kokcha* (probably *Geuk-chái*, "blue river"), now applied to the river of Badakhshan. He gives, however, the more correct reading of *Sú-Bakshú* (from the 'Vayu and Brahmanda Puranas'; As. R., viii. pp. 358 and 362) for the mountains at the source of the Oxus, the name being the same as that which is written *Sú-chakshú* in the 'Ramayana,' lib. I. xliv. pp. 14, 16; that is the name of the river, with the intensitive prefix *sú* as in *Sú-merú* for *Méru*, &c. Wilson also reads *Chakshú* everywhere in the 'Vishnú Purána,' though he admits in a note that the printed copy of the 'Bhágavata,' and the MS. Padma have *Bankshú* (for *Bakshu*).—'Vish. Pur.', p. 171, note 12. The word *Chakshú* is not given in his 'Dictionary,' but he again adopts that reading under *Méru*. In the 'Siddhánta Siromani,' also, Colebrooke and Wilkinson have both read *Chakshú* without suspecting any error.

The necessity of correction has been first brought to my notice by Dr. Kern, who, in the Commentary of Utpala on the Brhat Sanhita, c. 32, finds in a list of Northern tribes the *Vidahas*, the *Kashmirians*, *Dards*, and people living on the *Vakshú*, all classed together. This orthographical error, however, of *Chakshú* for *Vakshú* must have been very ancient, since *Birúni*, early in the 11th century, copying from the 'Ramáyana,' gave the reading of *چکش* *Jaksh* (for *Chakshú*, as the Arabs have no *ch*).—See 'Historians of India,' vol. i. p. 51. For the Chinese, Mongolian, and Thibetan forms of the name see 'Foe-koue-ki,' p. 37. The etymology of the name of the Oxus is obscure. Neither of the Sanscrit roots, *Ukah*, "to sprinkle," nor *Vaksh*, "to be angry," are appropriate themes; and I am rather inclined, therefore, to adopt the Persian explanation, that *Vah*, "pure," is the original form of the name, which was first strengthened into *vakh*, and then completed by the addition of *ish*, as in *Wag-ish* (cf. Wood), *Badakh-ish*, *Ish-terakh*, *Ish-keshm*, *Ish-kemish*, *Ish-kol*, *Ish-kotel*, &c. &c.

† Whether *Vakhsh* be developed from *Veh* (the Pehlevi name for the Oxus), or *Veh* be contracted from *Vakhsh*, there can be little doubt, I think, but that the two names are etymologically connected; indeed, we have the intermediate forms of *Vakh* in *Vakháb* and *Vakhán*, and of *Vash* in *Vashjird*. The Chinese names for the river are *Wei* (Remusat's 'Nouv. Mél.', tome i. p. 217), *Ou-hou*, or *Ou-hiu* ('Mag. Asiat.', tome i. p. 106), and *Fa-tsu*, or *Po-tsu* (Hiuen-tsang, *passim*). It has sometimes occurred to me that, as in modern times, the Oxus has taken the name of *Amu* from the town which commanded the great passage of the river (compare also the name of *Kilif* given to the river by *Masúdi* from the ferry thus entitled); so in the very earliest ages it may also have been named after the tribe who dwelt in this same position. The tribe in question would, I suppose, have been the *Vas*, who founded *Vas-kend*, or *Beikend* (the earliest inhabited place in Sogdiana, according to Persian tradition, see Khanikoff's 'Ethnographie de la Perse,' p. 40), in the fertile district where the river of *Sughd* approaches the Oxus, and is lost in irrigation. With this name of *Vas-kend*, or "town of the

to follow all the Puránic notices of the Oxus and the region which it traverses, but a few attempted identifications may be of interest. It is highly probable that Pamír and Méru are of kindred etymology, both the names being connected with *Mír*, “a lake;”\* and we may also recognise in the name of *Halavérd*, which was the capital of Khutl in the early ages of Islam, the modern form of the old mythic title of *Ilavratta*, which applied to the circular plain on the summit of Méru.† The name of Kétu-mála, which in the Puráñas designates the entire region west of Méru from Pamír to the Caspian, has no representative, I think, in modern geography; but the mountain ranges which bordered the Oxus, and the tribes which inhabited the neighbouring country, are indicated for the most part by names which either exist at the present day, or can, at any rate, be traced in comparatively recent times.

The most detailed list of mountains, illustrating the course of the Vakshú, or Oxus, is given in the Brahmanda Purána, and is as follows:‡ —1. *Sikhi-kanka*; 2. *Vaiduraya*; 3. *Capula*;

“Vai,” I would further compare the *Vaeckereta* of the ‘Vendidad,’ which has the same meaning, and which, as it is interposed, in the seventh place, between *Haroyu*, or Herat, and *Urvan*, or Urganj, must necessarily represent the lower valley of the Oxus. Observing, again, that Hiuen-Tsang applies the name of *Fa-ti* to this settlement between Bokhara and the Oxus, I suppose that *Vai-kend* may have been sometimes known by its equivalent Persian name of *Vai-deh*; and lastly with this name of *Vai-deh* I would compare the Sanscrit ethnic title of *Videha*, which is associated with the dwellers on the Oxus in the passage already quoted from the ‘Commentary of Utpala,’ and which also occurs among the northern tribes in the ‘Vishnú Purána,’ in connection with the Sacas, or Scythians, ‘V. P.’ p. 188. There are difficulties, at the same time, in etymologically connecting *Vai* with *Veh* and *Vakh*, and also in explaining how if the tribe in question merely dwelt on the lower river, all the present traces of the name should be found in the region of the Upper Oxus.

\* मीर *Mír* in Sanscrit is properly “the ocean” (compare Lat. *mare*; Fr. *mer*, &c.), but the term is also used for “a lake,” as in the names of *Kashmir*, *Ajmír*, *Jeselmír*, &c. I am not by any means satisfied with Bourouuf’s derivation of *Pamír* from *Upa Méru*, “above Meru,” and would prefer to explain the name as a contraction of *Fán-mír*; at any rate the *mír* in *Pamír* must mean “the lake country,” the allusion being to the *Arunoda*, the *Sítoda*, and the *Purnoda* of the Puráñas, answering respectively to the *Sárik-kúl* “the yellow, or ruddy lake,” the *Kara-kúl*, or “black lake,” and the *Yeshil-kúl*, or “green lake.”

† Wilford has some unusually wild speculations about *Ilavratta* (‘As. Res.’ viii. 318), which are really not worth quoting. *Halaverd*, which must have been on the *Surkháb* or *Vakhsháb*, probably at the spot now named *Kurghán teppeh*, is described by all the geographers, and will be further noticed in the sequel. It answers to the Greek *Αλιχόδρα*.

‡ See Wilford’s Essay, ‘As. Res.,’ viii. 358. This account brings the Chakshu, or Oxus, from the *Sítoda* and *Purnoda* lakes, which names answer etymologically to the *Kara-kúl* and *Yeshil-kúl*, “the black lake” and “the green lake.” (फृग्नि, *Siti*, “black,” and पर्ण *Parn* “to be green”), and from the *Su-Bakhu* mountains, before the other list commences. Wilford recognises the *Sítoda* as the main source of the river, but strangely enough he tries to identify the *Purnoda* with the Caspian. According to Md. Amin, however (Davies’

4. *Gandha-madana*; 5. *Pinjara*; 6. *Cumúda*; 7. *Madhu-manta*; 8. *Anjana*; 9. *Mucúta*; and 10. *Crishna*; the four first names in the list being also repeated in a more trustworthy authority, the 'Vishnú-Purána.'\* Of these names,—1. *Sikhi-Kanka*, or *Sikhi-vasas*, probably survives in *Shiknan* (*Shagnan* of Wood, and *Shi-ki-ni* of Hiuen-tsang), the rocky country on the right bank of the Penj;† 2. *Vaidurya*, which means Lapis-lazuli, is, as has been already shown by Bournouf, the original of the modern title of Belúr;‡ 3. *Capila*§ is the Capissa of the Greeks, *Kia-pi-shé* of the Chinese, and modern Cabul; 4. *Gandamádana* a very celebrated name in the Puránas, and usually described as the western buttress of Méru, has left many traces in the nomenclature of the Oxus region (compare Mount Goand of the Bunde-hesh; *Ghandamir*, the source of the Oxus, according to Ibn Fakih; *Ghand*, joined with *Shignán* and *Pamír* in the *Matla'-es-Saadein*, and modern names of *Ghandráb*, *Gandakúl*, *Gandushkán*,|| &c.);

\* 'Reports,' Appendix, p. 333), the *Yeshil Kúl*, well known to the Chinese ('Mag Asiat.', tome i. 93), is between Wood's lake and the *Kara-kúl*, and is usually called *Houz-i-Sares*. I should wish to read this name *Houz-i-saés*, which would have the same meaning as *Yeshil-kúl*, "the green lake," but fear the correction is too violent, as Md. Amín uses this same orthography of *Sares* in a dozen different passages. At the same time it must be remembered that the name of *Sares* for a division and lake of *Pamír* rests on Md. Amín's sole authority.

\* P. 169.

† शुक्ला *Sikha* in Sanscrit is "a crest," or "peak," and the name, therefore, is particularly suitable to the rocky ranges of *Shiknan* and *Shakh-dereh* (probably from the same root), to the north of the bed of the Oxus. For the Chinese *Chi-ki-ni*, see 'Hiuen-Tsang,' pp. 270 and 365. The name is not much used by the geographers, but is to be found, perhaps, in the very corrupt list of Ibn Khordadbeh, and again in Birúni's 'Kanún,' where Ishkeshem is called the capital. The later orthography of the *Matlá-es-Saadein* is *Shignán*, 'Not. et Extr.,' tome xiv. p. 224.

‡ 'Asie Centrale,' tome ii. p. 372. In my article on Central Asia in the 'Quarterly Review' (No. 240, p. 480, note), I threw doubt on this derivation, but further study has led me to adopt it. Bournouf does not connect the name of *Vaidurya* for the "Lapis Lazuli," with the mountain *Vaidurya* of the Puránas, but Wilson seems in his 'Dictionary' to derive the one from the other, giving for the etymology of *Vaidurya*, the "Lapis Lazuli"—"Vidur, said to be the name of a mountain where the stone is found." I shall consider the difficult subject of the geography of *Belúr* further on.

§ *Kapila* and *Kapisa* are connected in Sanscrit, one signifying "tawny," and the other "brown," and both referring to the colour of "an Ape," *Kapi*. The modern representative of *Capissene* is *Kashán*, a large mound at the mouth of the Ghorbend Valley, from whence a good pass leads over the *Hindú-Kush*. The *Kia-pi-shé* of the Chinese extended at some periods from the *Hindú-Kush* to the Indus.

|| The position of *Gandha-madana* is variously stated in the Puránas. The authorities followed by Wilford place it to the west of Meru, along the Oxus, and overhanging *Ketu-mala*, but Wilson says it is "a mountain forming the division between *Ilávritta* and *Bhadráswa* to the *East* of Meru." Comp. Sans. Dic. *in voce* with As. Res. viii. pp. 326, 359, &c. The reading of *Ghanda-mír*, جندہ میر for the source of the Oxus, according to Ibn Fakih, is doubtful (see Yacut's Lex. *in voce* *Jí'hún*; and Juynboll's 'Lex. Géograph.' tome v. p. 134, where the reading

5. *Pinjara*\* may be *Penjhir*, north-east of Kabul; 6. *Cumuda* is certainly the Comedi Mountains of Ptolemy, *Kiu-mi-tho* of the Chinese, and *Kumid* of the Arabs.† Of *Madhámanta* and *Mucúta* I can say nothing at present; but the other two names, *Anjana* and *Crishna*, merely signify "the black mountains," and thus apparently denote the southern slopes of the Hindú-kúsh on the left bank of the Kabul River, which were similarly designated by the Chinese.‡ Of the tribes or countries through which the Oxus flowed, I have only met with two lists: one given by Wilford from the *Vayu-Purána*, and the other, copied apparently from the *Ramáyana*, by Abu Rihán, and now only available in an Arabic disguise. The names in the *Vayu-Purána* are—1. *Chinamanu*; 2. *Tangana*; 3. *Sarva-Kalica*; 4. *Sandhra*; 5. *Tushára*; 6. *Lampaca*; 7. *Pahlava*; 8. *Darada*; and 9. *Saca*.§ Of these, 1. The *Chinamanus*, represent, not the Chinese, as Wilford fancifully supposed, but the "left hand," or northern men, in opposition to the *Dakshanis*, "right hand," or southern men;|| 2. The *Tan-*

is *Andemus*, *মে দে*, as adopted by Sir W. Jones; 'Works,' vol. xii. p. 148, and commented on by Wilford in his usual style; As. Res. viii. p. 331); but the name of *Ghand* is certainly used for the district between Shignán and Pamír in the *Matla'-es-Saadein*, being attested by my own MS. 'History of Khorassán' which is rigidly correct, though Quatremère proposes to alter the reading to *Waghānd* or *Wakhan* 'Not. et Ext.,' tome xiv. p. 491. For the other names see Davies's 'Reports,' Appendix, pp. 356 and 366.

\* *Pinjara* in Sanscrit means "yellow," and is especially applied to "Gold" or "Yellow orpiment," but I observe in Aryan Geography that the name of *Penjhir* is always connected with silver mines. The mines of *Penjhir* at the eastern source of the Kabul River have been always famous, and I find a notice in *Ash-Shazrī's Akhbar-el-Baldán* of another *Penjhir* celebrated for its silver mines seven farsakhs from *Shásh* or *Tashkend*.

† Wilford repeatedly notices the *Kumuda* of the Puranas, answering to the Comedi Mountains of Ptolemy.—As. Res. viii. pp. 326, 332, 362, &c. For the Chinese *Kiu-mi-tho*, see Julien's 'Si-yu-ki,' tome i. p. 27. I have only met with the Arabic *Kumid* in *Ibn Dusṭeh*, but *Kum* is the name still commonly applied to *Darwáz* on the Oxus.

‡ See Julien's 'Hien-Tsang,' pp. 71 and 75. In the *Bundehesh* also ('Zend. Av.' tome ii. p. 366) *Siah-humend* and *Wafer-humend* are the names of the range which runs from Kabul towards China, the *Siah-humend*, or "black mountains," answering to the *Anjana* and *Crishna* of the Puranas, and the *Wafer-humend* or "snowy mountains" to the *Hemakúta*, south of *Méru*,—'Vish. Pur.' p. 167. The same distinction of "the black mountains" and "the snowy mountains" was also observed by the Chinese.

§ As. Res. viii. 336.

|| No one seems to have ever doubted that the *Chinas* of the Puranas were China-men, and Wilson even argues from the name that the date of the *Vishnu Purána* must be limited to B.C. 260, as that was the date of the *Tsin* dynasty from which China derived its name; but comparative philology assures us that *Dek* and *Chin* must have been the old Aryan roots for "right" and "left," *Dexter* and *Sinister* being for *Dek-is-ter* and *Chin-is-ter*; and although this power of *Chin* is now lost in Sanscrit, I cannot doubt but that it once existed and indicated the northern tribes, just as *Dek-shin* or "Deccan" indicated the southern country. See 'Vish. Pur.' p. 194, note 145.

*ganas*, though often mentioned, are not easily identified,\* but with the name of *Kalica* we may compare both the Kálik Pass, leading across the great range from Gilgit,† and also perhaps the Kalash division of the Siyahpúsh Caffirs, who are possibly the *Calicias* of Benedict Goez; ‡ 4. The *Sandhras*, again, are obscure, but the remaining names are all well known.§ From 5. *Tushára*, we have *Toχapoi* and *Tocharistán*; || 6. *Lampaca* is Lamghan; ¶ 7. *Pahlava* (*Pahva* of Wilford) was probably the same as the Persian *Pehlevi*; \*\* and the *Daradas* and *Sacas*, 8 and 9, *Dards* and *Scythians*, are standard names in the ethnography of Upper India.†† The Arabic names which are preserved in the extract from Abu-Rihán contained in *Rashid ed-Din*, and which are supposed to have been originally taken from the *Ramáyana*, are so disfigured that neither Sir H. Elliot nor his recent editor, Professor Dowson, have attempted to identify them; but I would suggest the following readings, in which it will be seen the orthographical corrections are by no means violent:—

1. *Sarva-Kalica* (3 in the *Vayu*); 2. *Fahlavak* (compare *Bahlika* or *Pahlava*, 7 in *Vayu*); 3. *Tokhára* (5 in *Vayu*); 4. *Barbar* (compare *Barbarrah* of Wood, p. 395); 5. *Kabuj* (compare *Kamboja* of *Purána*s and *Kaubenj* of Arab geography); 6. *Tangán* (2 of *Vayu*); 7. *Révasár* (*Rivasarán* of *Ibn Fakíh*); and 8. *Anjan* (the “black mountains” of the *Brahmánda Purána*).††

\* *Tanganas* and *Paratanganas* are joined with *Yavanas* (Greeks of Bactria) *Chínas* and *Kambojas* in the ‘*Vishnú Purána*,’ p. 193, and the *Ramáyana* has also *Tanganas* in the north, but Wilson does not attempt to identify them.

† See Davies's ‘Reports,’ Appendix, p. 356.

‡ *Kalika* in Sanscrit कालिका is “dark-coloured,” and is probably the original of our modern term of *Siyah-púsh*—“wearing black.” The *Kalash* tribe is mentioned by Md. Amin (Davies's ‘Reports,’ Appendix, p. 362), as well as by Gardiner and Raverty. I do not rely much on the identity of the *Kalash* with Goez's *Calicias*, as I cannot trace the old missionary's route at all from the Hindú-Kúsh to Pámír.

§ The name of *Sandhra* would become *Handra* in Persian, and may perhaps still be traced in *Ander-ab*, the Ανδρας of the Greeks.

|| For the *Tushára* or *Tukhára*, see Wilson's ‘*Vishnú Purána*,’ p. 195, note 157.

¶ See the references in Reinaud's ‘*Mém. sur l'Inde*,’ p. 118, note 8.

\*\* The *Pahlavas* occur in all the lists as a tribe between Persia and India.

\* *Vish. Pur.* p. 189, note 61, but the name is of doubtful etymology.

†† See ‘*Vish. Pur.*’ p. 195, note 155, and p. 188, note 43.

‡‡ The names are variously written in the several copies of the *Jamī'-ut-Tawarikh*, but the following may be taken for the normal types from which the readings that I give from the *Vayu* do not, it will be seen, essentially differ.

‘*Historians of India*,’ vol. i.

Biruni.

True Forms.

1. صروو كالك

صرورو كالك

*Sarva-Kalik.*

2. دهولك

فهو لك

*Fahlavak.*

3. بخار

تخار

*Tukhara.*

[Biruni]

I shall have occasion to make further reference to Puranic geography as I proceed with the examination of the Oxus, but in the meantime, it is of more interest to compare a few notices from the 'Vendidad' and 'Bundehesh.' The names in the first chapter of the 'Vendidad,' which fix the territorial circumscriptio[n] of the primitive Perso-Aryan settlement, and are thus of the highest ethnographical importance, are many of them still obscure. In addition, however, to the two identifications which I have already made, and which I venture to think are beyond dispute, namely, that *Urvan*, the eighth creation of Ormazd represents Urganj, and *Hapta Hindu*, the seven sources of the Oxus, I would further suggest that the concluding names of the series must be sought amongst the most eastern localities of the Zoroastrian world, *Raga* being the district of *Ragh*, the most fertile portion of Badakhshán, while *Varena*, "the squared," may be the "Tetrapolis" of Cabul, which would not otherwise be represented, and *Rāṅgha* of the east, with its independent horsemen or nomads, may be the Alái and Northern Pamír Plateau, extending from Riang-kúl to Rasht.\* But

	Biruni.	True Form.	
4.	بربر	بربر	<i>Barbar.</i>
5.	کاج	کابج	<i>Kabuj.</i>
6.	تکن	تنکن	<i>Tangan.</i>
7.	بنوبار	ربوسار	<i>Rivasar.</i>
8.	انجان	انجان	<i>Anjan.</i>

Of course many of these restorations are pure guesses, and are given with due reserve. No. 1 is a double name in the *Vayu*, but two different names in the Arabic; which is right I do not venture to say. Wilson compares *Bahka* with *Balkh*, 'Vish. Pur.' p. 191, note 88, and perhaps *Pahlava* may be a form of the same name. No. 2 name, however, may possibly be *Deh-Wálij*, the *دہ والیج*, *Wálij* of the Arabs. For *Barbar* and *Kabuj*, See 'Vish. Pur.' p. 192, note 99, and p. 194, note 146. In the Arabic the two names are joined together, and certainly the *Kaubenj* of the geographers must have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Wood's *Barbara* if they were not the same place. I have no great faith in the three last readings, as the orthography varies so much in the different MSS. No. 7, *Rivasar* or *Rivansar*, will be noticed hereafter.

\* It is very important to observe the general law of geographical distribution which determines the order of the names in the Vendidad list. Guided by this clue, I have already pointed out that the 7th name *Vaeerat* (*Vaigard* or *Vaikend*) must needs represent the middle valley of the Oxus, interposing as it does between Herat and Kharism; and I would now further suggest that it is equally clear the 12th name which follows *Haetumat* or the Helmand, must indicate some neighbouring province instead of being applied, as all the commentators have hitherto insisted, to the western position of Rhages, which was far beyond the confines of the Zoroastrian world. I would propose, then, to compare *Raga* with the modern *Ragh* of Badakhshán, a name which is certainly ancient, and is probably found in the *Andija-rágh* of the early geographers. The 13th name *Chakhra* ought to represent the Hazareh mountains, but the only geographical name in that region which at all resembles the Zend title is *Sakhir*, and I am not sure that that is an old form;

whatever may be thought of these attempted explanations of the primitive geography of the Vendidad, we are on surer ground when we examine the names and the descriptions of the Bundehesh. Doubts have been recently raised whether the Arg-rúd really represents the Tigris,\* but no uncertainty whatever attaches to the other great limitary river of the Zoroastrians to the eastward. The Veh-rúd which received the tributary waters of the Teremet-rúd and Balkh-rúd, and passed by the frontier of Khorassán, can only be the Oxus, the name of *Veh* being perhaps a corruption of *Vakh*, which again may have been contracted from *Vakhsh*, the original of the "Οξος of the Greeks.†

The great range of mountains again which extended south of the Veh-rúd from Seistán to the borders of China, and

the locality indicated, however, must have been, I think, at any rate not far from the source of the Helmend. *Varena* also, the 14th place, is very difficult of identification. It is called the "Quadrangular country," and was the birthplace of Feridún, on which account it has been compared with *Demawend*; but the geographical indications point to the extreme east, and I would propose therefore to compare *Varena* with *Barwán* or *Parwán*, and to explain the epithet of Quadrangular as applying to the famous "Tetrapolis" of Cabul, especially as the immediate neighbourhood of the castle of Zohák at Bamián accords with the tradition regarding Feridún. *Raīgha*, the last name on the list, is the most hopeless of all, as far as etymology is concerned. It has been identified with Assyria, with Rhé, with Khorassán and more recently with the valley of the Jaxartes, "Zend Av." i. 270, and ii. 242, and Khanikoff's "Ethnog. de la Perse," p. 37; but the last country alone suits its position as the extreme eastern limit of the Zoroastrian world. I suggest northern Pamir from the description, and the possible connection of the name with *Ramid*, *Rasht*, and *Riang-kul*.

\* See Bournouf's "Yacna, Additions et Corrections," p. clxxxi. Bournouf labours hard to prove that the *Urvat* of the Zend books, which, according to Anquetil's reading, is named *Arg* in the Bundehesh, really represents the Jaxartes, but his arguments are not convincing. At any rate it is quite certain that the Zoroastrians of the early ages of Islam understood the river in question to be the Tigris, rather than the Jaxartes, for Ferdusi (Edit. Macan, vol. i. p. 39) says distinctly that the Arabs name the Arwand, the *Dijleh*; and Hamzeh Isfaháni, who is a great authority on Zoroastrian antiquities, also gives two Persian names for the Arabic *Dijleh*, the *Arong-rúd*, which is probably a more correct reading than the *Arg-rúd* of Anquetil, and the *Kudek Darya*, or "the little sea." (See *Yacút in voce Dijleh*.) Bournouf compares a number of similar names of Asiatic rivers, and derives them all from the Zend, *Urvat*, but one of these names, the *Orontes* of Syria, or *Aranat* as it is written in the inscriptions, is almost certainly Semitic, being formed of the generic *Ara*, "a river," the formative suffix in *na* and the usual feminine ending.

† *Veh* in Pehlevi is supposed to signify "pure," being the same term which occurs in *Vehesht* or *Bihist*, "Heaven," but there is no Sanscrit correspondent.

*Vahá* in Sanscrit is a general name for "a river" from *Vah*, वह, "to flow," and this is probably the true origin of the name. There may, however, possibly have been two independent names for the river. *Vakhsh* (from वह, "to be angry") applying to the upper part of the river, where its course is rapid and turbulent, and *Veh* (from वह "to flow") applying to the river below the junction of the Kokcha, this double nomenclature exactly answering to the *Fa-tsu* and *Wei* of the Chinese.

from which so many streams descended to the south as well as to the north, affords a very interesting subject of inquiry. Its usual name in the Bundehesh is *Aprasin*\* (or according to a gloss, *Parés* for *Parésin*), which is the identical term used in the Babylonian translation of the inscription of Darius at Behistun, as the equivalent of the Persian *Gadara*.† *Paru-páraesanna*, indeed, as the cuneiform title is read in full, is of course the true form of the Greek Παροπαμίσος, or Παροπανίσος; ‡ it means the mountains of *Paresina*, and adhered to the range in question as late as the seventh century, for Hiuen-Tsang expressly says that he traversed the great Snowy Mountains and the chain *Pho-lo-si-na*§ in passing from Capissa to Anderab. Probably also the name of *Pashái*, || which is applied both by Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta to the range of Hindú-Kúsh, and which still appertains to a tribe of mountaineers in the vicinity of Cabul, is a relic of the ancient title.

The valley of the Oxus, as the battle-field between Buddhism and Zoroastrianism for the period of a thousand years, is connected with many early Magian traditions. The fabulous Kang-diz, regarded by the vulgar as the region of the blessed, and removed by the geographers to the extreme eastern limit of the continent of Asia, probably owed its origin to some famous Buddhist settlement immediately beyond the Zoroastrian limits; ¶ but whether this settlement may have been at *Tash-*

\* 'Zend Avesta,' tome ii. p. 364, *sqq.* *Aprasin* seems, however, to include the whole mountain system of Eastern Persia, being prolonged from the Paropamisus in two branches, one south of the Caspian to the Taurus, and the other buttressing the Persian plateau from Seistan along the Gulf to Zagros.

† I have collected all the important authorities regarding the Indian *Gandhara* at Peshawer, in my 'Cuneiform Vocabulary; Journal, Royal Asiat. Society,' vol. ii. p. 125. In the distribution of the Satrapies of Darius, *Gadara* must be understood to include all the country between the Indus and Bactria.

‡ Dr. Oppert insists on regarding *Paru-paraesanna* as an erroneous reading for *Paru-paranisanna*, which he translates "the mountains of the Upper Nisnna," deriving the name from the *Nysa* of the Greeks ('Expédition en Mésopotamie,' p. 202); but the paper cast of the Behistun slab, which is now in London, and of which a facsimile taken by Pentagraph, is given in vol. iii. of the 'Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,' shows that my original copy was correct. For a full discussion of the Etymology of Paropanisus, which is a Greek corruption of *Paru-paraesanna*, see 'Asie Centrale,' vol. i. pp. 103 and 114.

§ See 'Foe-koue-ki,' Appendix, p. 395. Lassen, in his 'Indische Alterthums-kunde,' p. 27, note 2, suggests a connection between *Pholosina* and *Paropanisus*, but has overlooked the intermediate link of the Pehlevi *Paresin* or *Aprusin*.

|| See Yule's 'Cathay,' p. 403. *Pars-ai* may very well have become *Pash-ai*, as *Purushapura* has become Peshawer. Leech published a vocabulary of the Pashai language, one of the Sub-Aryan dialects in 'Journ. Asiat. Society of Bengal' for 1838, vol. vii. p. 731.

¶ For a full discussion of the very curious subject of Kang-diz, see Reinaud's 'Introduction to Abulfeda,' pp. ccxx. to ccxxiv. Reinaud himself is inclined to compare the term *Kang* with the old Chinese name of *Kang-kiu* for Sogdiana; but it is a sufficient answer to this to remark that *Sughd* was the first and the principal Perso-Aryan settlement, whereas nothing can be clearer from the Bundehesh

*Kurghán*, which is still called the city of Afrasiáb, and is certainly a very remarkable place,\* or in the vicinity of

and universal Zoroastrian tradition than that *Kang-diz* was beyond the Perso-Aryan world to the eastward. *Kang-diz* is everywhere connected in the Bundelesh, 1stly, with the mountains of *Sejda* or *Bum*, of doubtful orthography, but certainly representing the *Tsung-ling* of the Chinese; and 2ndly, with the river *Shed*, which is of course the *Shida* of the Mongols, *Sida* of the Thibetans, and *Sita* of the Brahmans, running eastward from Meru, and identical with the river system of Yarkend and Kashghar. Compare the following passages "The *Shed-rúd*, where Pashutan (son of Gushtasp) is in Mogulistan." "The river where Pashutan is (i.e., the *Shed-rúd*) is in *Kang-diz*." "Pashutan, called *Chitro-mino*, is in *Kang-diz*." "Kang-diz is to the east." "Mount *Sejda* contains *Kang-diz*," &c. 'Zend Avesta,' tome ii, pp. 364, 391, 393, 409, and 410. I long ago suggested that *Kang* was a Pehlevi word, signifying "Heaven," and answering to the Sanscrit *स्वर्ग* ('Journ. Royal As. Soc.,' vol. x. pp. 146 and 321), and perhaps this is after all the most reasonable explanation of the term; but it has sometimes occurred to me that as Birúní evidently considered *Kang* to be a proper name, translating *Kang-diz* as he did by "Kang's Castle" (see Reinaud, loc. cit.), it may possibly be a relic of the old name of Kanishka, or *Kanika*, which in the Arabic character is undistinguishable from the other title كنج. There are some grounds for supposing that Kanika (Kanerkes of the coins) derived his origin from Central Asia, and himself led the invading *Yue-chi* from Yarkend and Tashkurghán down the Chitrál Valley to the conquest of Northern India. At any rate he held the Upper Oxus and Little Thibet, whilst reigning over Peshawer and the Punjab, and I cannot help therefore referring to a city of his foundation the curious notice which is preserved by Mirza Hyder in his account of Kashghar and Yarkend in the *Tarikh-i-Rashídí*. "Formerly," he says, "there were several large cities in this plain; the names of two have survived; *Lub* (comp. Lop-Nor.) and *Kank*, but of the rest there is no trace or tradition; all is buried under the sand." I have lately observed from a note in Pauthier's 'Marco Polo,' p. 135, that Quatremère has already published this curious passage regarding the ancient cities of Cashgaria ('Not. des Manuscrits,' tome xiv. p. 494), having found it in the 'Haft Aklim,' into which work it had been copied from the *Tarikh-i-Rashídí*. Quatremère, however, has been guilty of a singular blunder in his further translation of the passage, speaking of the chase of *wild camels* in the Kashghar desert, instead of the chase of ostriches. Quatremère ought to have been aware that the ostrich is called "the camel bird" in Persian, and he might have also remembered that it is described under this title by the Chinese as a native of the Pamir steppes. (See 'Nouv. Mél. Asiat.,' tome i. p. 246, and 'Vie de Hiuen-Tsang,' p. 272.) The objection of course to there having really been a great city of Kanishka's in the vicinity of Yarkend, which furnished the Perso-Aryans with the germ of their *Kang-diz* myth, is the silence of the Buddhist travellers. Fa-Hian and Hiuen-tsang were both well acquainted with Kanishka; indeed, we derive our chief knowledge of that king, his era and his works, from their writings, and they in no instance associate his name with any of the remarkable buildings they saw about the *Tsung-ling* Range. Tash-Kurghán, however, does really seem to answer to the *Kie-cha* of Fa-Hian, as suggested by Colonel Yule and Mr. Beal, and Kanika is called in Mongol history, King of *Gachu*, which is probably the same word (though entirely unconnected with the apocryphal title of *Karchu*), and it is just possible therefore that Kanishka may be the ancient king of Ko-pan-to (country of Sirkál), who conquered Taksha-sila, or Taxila, and who was better known by his title of *Chhna-déva-gotra*. See 'Vie de Hiuen-thsang,' p. 274. 'Foe-kone-ki,' p. 80. Beal's 'Fa-Hian,' p. 14, &c.

\* Tash-kurghán is such a very remarkable place that it certainly deserves a special notice. The description given of it by Md. Amín in Davies's 'Report,' Appendix, p. 327, is as follows:—"Tash-kurghán is a very ancient city, said to have been founded in the time of Afrasiáb, the celebrated King of Turan. It has of old been the capital of the Sar-i-kúl territory, and the impregnable stronghold of its rulers. It is in a circular form, about a koss in circumference; its walls are

Yarkend, where the ruins of *Kank* or *Kang* mark the site of an ancient capital, or still further to the eastward at Khoten, which was the head-quarters of early Buddhism in this part of Central Asia, I cannot pretend to say. There are many notices of fire-temples in the Bunde-hesh, which probably relate to the region of the Oxus; as, according to Magian tradition, Zoroaster dwelt at Balkh, and his proselytizing efforts first came into operation in this quarter of Asia. For instance, the Mount Revand, where the famous Bourzin fire, lighted from the thunder-bolt, was established by Gushtasp, and which was only nine farsakhs distant from Goand (or *Kopanto*, modern Tash-kurghán), may very well be compared with the *Rivan-sar* of Ibn-el-Fakih and Birúni, which must have been in the position hitherto occupied by the *Pusht-i-khar* of the maps.\* The Mount Kharesem

built of unusually large blocks of hewn stone, and it is situated in an extensive open plain." It was no doubt owing to the massive materials of which it was built that it received the name of *Tash-kurghán*, or the "Stone Fort;" and it seems to have every claim to represent the  $\lambda\delta\mu\sigma\tau\pi\upsilon\mu\sigma\sigma$  of Ptolemy, where the caravans rendezvoused before entering China, in preference to Tashkend or Ooah, which have been selected as the site of the Stone Tower by other geographers. (See 'Asie Centrale,' tome i. p. 135; Reinaud's 'Abulfeda,' Introd. p. 369, with reference to Birúni; Wilford in 'Asiat. Res.,' vol. viii. p. 323, &c. &c.) The country of which Tash-kurghán was the capital was known to the Chinese as *Ko-panto* (or *Pan-to* or *Han-pan-to*), a name which, whatever may be its Aryan etymology, is probably identical with Mount Goand of the Bunde-hesh, which was a part of Aprasian or Paropamisus, and was the bulwark of Gushtasp (i.e. the Zoroastrian world) to the East. (See 'Zend Avesta,' tome ii. p. 367; 'Vie de Hinen-tsang,' p. 273; Beal's 'Buddhist Travels,' p. 182; 'Foe-koue-ki,' p. 24, &c.) The *Kie-cha* of Fa-hian, which was passed between Kukiyar (south of Yarkend) and the ascent of the great range at the Darkote Pass, can hardly be other than Tash-kurghán (and indeed in no other town in that region would Buddhism have been found in so flourishing a condition); but we must be careful to avoid Mr. Beal's error of comparing the Chinese name of *Kie-cha* with the *Karchu* of the maps. I have some doubts if the latter name did ever apply to Tash-kurghán, for I have not met with it in any Oriental authority, and it is certainly quite unknown at present; but if it be a genuine name (and not a French invention of the seventeenth century as I suspect from finding it first in Petit de la Croix's Maps), it must be regarded, I think, as a corruption of the well-known Mongol title *Karski*, signifying, according to Baber "a burial-place" (Leydens Baber, p. 54), but according to others "a Palace" (see 'Hist. de Timour,' tome i. p. 95, and Yule's 'Cathay,' p. 298), and which was also applied to the great city south of Bokhara. I should think it, however, more likely that *Kie-cha* derived its name from the same people who founded the city of Kashghar (*Kie-sha* of Chinese), and also colonised both Cashmér, and Cashcar which now represents the old region of *Belúr*. In Hinen-tsang the name of the capital of Ko-pan-to is not given, but the adjoining district of *Ou-cha* can hardly be other than Md. Amin's *Uchi*, which joins Tash-kurghán to the eastward; and in the two great Buddhist buildings which are described by Hinen-tsang in these two cities, a *viháru* and royal palace in the capital of *Kopanto*, and a very ancient and lofty *stupa* in the neighbouring city of *Ou-cha*, we may, I think, recognise the two monuments which are portrayed in the map of Agatho-dæmon, one as the  $\lambda\delta\mu\sigma\tau\pi\upsilon\mu\sigma\sigma$  between the sources of the Oxus and the Yarkend River, and the other as an independent tower on a hill to the eastward. (Ptol. lib. vi. c. 18, and Reinaud's 'Abulfeda,' Introduction, p. 369.) No English traveller has yet penetrated to this spot, and neither Marco Polo, nor Goex, nor Md. Amin were likely to notice Buddhist remains.

\* Ibn-el-Fakih, who in about A.D. 940 composed a geographical work, mainly

again, where Jemshid placed the most sacred of all the fires, to be transported by Gushtasp\* in a later age to Cabul, I would propose to identify with the Kishm of the geographers in the south-west frontier of Badakhshán; as the Chinese orthography of the name was Ki-li-sse-mo; and Colonel Gardiner describes the ruins of "an ancient massive building" in this neighbourhood which may very well represent the early fire-temple.†

on the authority of Jyháni, has left it on record that the source of the Oxus was at a place called *Ghandomis* (or *Ghandomir*?), in a mountain called *Riwansaran*, on the confines of Cabul. See Yacút's 'Moejem,' in *voce* Jihún, and consult Reinaud's 'Abulfeda,' Introd. p. lxiv. and text, p. 101. *Riwansar*, or *Riwasar*, I have also restored as the seventh name in Birúni's list, taken from the Rámáyana. Now *Sar*, answering to the Sanscrit सर is still used in the country, according to Hayward, for "a lake;" and *Riwansar*, therefore, may mean the "Revand Lake," in allusion to the traditional glacier lake, from which Macartney also derives the Oxus. Gardiner, however, in two passages, mentions a district of *Rivanshur* between Gilgit and the Snowy Range, which may represent the *Rivansar* of the Arabs; and the name is common in Persia for a mountainous region prolific in streams ('Asiat. Soc. Journ.' for 1853, pp. 301 and 441). (Observe, however, that Birúni in the *Canún* places *Rivansarán* to the west of Bamián, thereby showing, if the indication be correct, that Ibn-el-Fakih must have confounded the Oxus with the river of Balkh.—See the map in Sprenger's 'Reisenrouten.') As Gardiner actually traversed the Gilgit Valley from the Indus to the Snowy Mountains, and finally crossed over into Chitrál, being, in fact, the only Englishman up to the present time who has ever performed the journey throughout, it is quite possible he may give the name of *Rivanshur* from information acquired on the spot; but I always doubt his independent authority, and in the present case am rather inclined to believe that he copied the names of Darkoot (printed Varkoot), *Rivanshur*, and *Boolloophir* as lateral valleys of the upper Gilgit country, from Arrowsmith's map of 1834, in which they were inserted on the authority of Wilford's original chart. At any rate, thanks to Mr. Hayward's enterprise, we are now sufficiently acquainted with the nomenclature of Gilgit and Yassin to be satisfied that no such names are known in the present geography of those districts.

\* For the fire temples of Mounts Revand and Kharesem, see 'Zend Avesta,' tome ii. pp. 383 and 384, and for Mount Goand, p. 367.

† Wood ('Journey to Source of Oxus,' p. 250) has exactly defined the position of Mount Kishm in the range to the south-east of Talikhán, and this agrees perfectly with the notices of the place collected by Quatremère ('Not. des Man.' tome xiv. p. 223) from the *Akbar-námeh*. Compare also the route given in 'L'Histoire de Timur,' tome i. p. 167, which led from the passage of the Oxus to Taikán, Kíla-owghán, Kishm, and along the skirts of the range to Jerm; but care must be taken not to confound Kishm with either Ish-Kishm or Ish-kemesh, the three places being quite distinct. Gardiner describes this "ancient massive building" as "100 yards square, and 100 high (?), the first 20 yards built up with well-polished blocks of stone about 2 yards square. It is not quite square, the north side having an angle in it; the circumference is 420 yards, and it is half a mile from the river on the south bank, and 3 stages south of Badakhshán. Numerous clay idols are found in the ruins around." This account is no doubt exaggerated, but the locality is clearly marked upon the Warsik River (called Zoon by Gardiner), which flows from the Kishm, or *Takht-i-Sulimán* range, to Meshed, where it was crossed by Wood on the high road from Talikhán to Fyzabád; and it would be well worth examination by any future travellers who may penetrate to that region. The place is not noticed in the fragments of Gardiner's 'Journal,' published in the 'Journ. Bengal As. Soc.' for 1853; but it would appear from the abstract of his travels, by Sir H. Durand, which has

But the portion of this region which must have been especially venerated by the early Zoroastrians, was the mountain district north of the Oxus and west of Pamír, for here volcanoes and natural fires seem to have been always in activity. Wilford gives an excellent description of the country from the *Váyu Purána*: "There are many valleys," he says, "to the west of Méru, and among the mountains of Su-bakhshu, where the ground emits flames for the space of 100 leagues. It is a most dismal place, horrid to the sight, inaccessible to mortals; the sight of it makes the hair stand on end. There is Vibhavasu, who presides over the fire, burning without fuel; he who is the great deity, and therefore seems to have life. . . . There that very fire which one day will spread over and encompass the whole universe, is constantly burning," &c.\* The Chinese in the seventh century have similar notices, stating that in Tsao, or Osroushna (south-east of Samarcand), sacrifices were made to the god *Tesi*, who was worshipped in all the regions of the west;† (and whom I thus suppose to be "fire"—*Tesh* or *Atesh*—deified,) the priest standing before a cavern, from which issued smoke, which killed any one who touched it. Masúdí, in describing from an eye-witness the route which leads from Samarcand to the east, and is the most direct road to China, says the flames issue from the mountains at night over an extent of 100 farsakhs (exactly the 100 yojanas of the *Vayu Purána*); and he goes on to speak of a burning valley through which it is necessary to pass;‡ his description coinciding as nearly as

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been recently printed in the 'Friend of India' (Sept. 27th, 1870), that he did actually cross on one occasion direct from the Khawek Pass to Jerm, a route which would have led him to Kishm, and it is possible, therefore, that he may have inserted the notice in question in his account of the sources of the Oxus ('Journ. Bengal As. Soc.' for 1853, p. 434) from some other portion of the Journal as yet unpublished. The Kilisemo of the Chinese joined Moung-kien (Mounkan of Burnes, and Moongham of Gardiner), which exactly suits the position of Kishm, and the latter name is probably a mere contraction of *Kirishm*, which would nearly represent the Pehlevi *Kheresom* ('Vie de Hiuen-Thsang,' pp. 269 and 389).

\* 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. viii. p. 361.

† 'Nouv. Mél. Asiat.' tome i. p. 235. Hiuen-Tsang particularly notices the fanatical spirit of the fire-worshippers of Samarcand ('Vie de Hiuen-Tsang,' p. 59). At the time of the Arab invasion, the districts immediately north of the Oxus were inhabited by Buddhists, but the Zoroastrians seem to have held all the country north of the Karadágh Range, where natural fires were so prevalent.

‡ See Reinaud's 'Géographie d'Abulfeda,' Introduction, p. ccclxxi. I shall examine later whether Masúdí here refers to the high road by the Terek Pass, which conducts from Kokand to Kashghar, or whether there was not in antiquity a more direct route leading from Samarcand up the valley of the Zarafshán to its source, and then crossing Pamír by the Karakúl Lake to the Kish-yart Range, over which it passed, to the plain of Kashgaria. There are many Oriental notices which seem to indicate such a route; and if Colonel Gardiner is to be believed, he actually followed it in 1828 from the foot of the Ak-tagh Range direct to Yarkend without passing through Kashghar.

possible with that of Mons. Lehmann, who, in 1840, visited the Upper Zarafshán and the Fán valley, leading to the Lake Iskender Kúl, and observed this same phenomenon of a burning tract of country, which he attributed to the accidental ignition of carboniferous strata.\* The Mahomedan geographers all notice these natural fires in their accounts of the mountains of Buttum and the famous mines of Sal Ammoniac;† and they would seem still to preserve their sacred character, for Colonel Gardiner mentions having met on the frontiers of Badakhshán,‡ three Hindus, *Suniyassis*, who had been on a pilgrimage to a volcano in Kirghiz; and Wood also at the pass of Ishkishm fell in with an Indian "Callender," who was apparently bound on the same errand.§

The most numerous, however, as well as the most interesting remains in the region of the Oxus are those undoubtedly of Buddhist origin. I have already noticed the famous buildings in Ko-pan-to (about Tashkurghan ||), which were known to the

\* Lehmann, who visited Samarcand with Khanikof in 1840, published his account of the Zarafshán Valley at St. Petersburg in 1852, and this is the only notice that has been available for geographers until the present year, when Mr. R. Michell has furnished the Royal Geographical Society with a translation of Monsieur Fedchenko's 'Mémoire' on the same region. I shall have a good deal to say on the subject of the Zarafshán river in the sequel; but I may here notice, what seems to have escaped previous inquirers, that Baber has left on record a very excellent description of the famous Iskander-kúl Lake, which he visited on his flight from Hissar up the course of the Kamrúd to the valley of the Samarcand river. Leyden's 'Baber,' p. 85. The lake is named in the English translation *Kán*, owing to the mistake of reading ل for ک. It should, of course, be *Fán*, as given by Fedchenko, and as occurring in the name of *Fán-täu*, by which the neighbouring portion of the Kara-dágh Range (the Sir-i-tak of Baber) is designated in our modern maps.

† See the extracts in Ritter, 'Asien,' tome v. p. 745-747 and Humboldt's 'Asie Centrale,' tome ii. p. 18. All the geographers—Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, Edrisi, and Abulfeda—repeat the same description, and almost in the same words.

‡ Gardiner further distinctly states that "Two days' journey north-west of Oorcombak (which was at the eastern end of the Oostam(?) Pass, through the Aktágh Range 20 days south-west of Kashghar), there is a sacred spot of perpetual fire issuing from a rock." ('As. Soc. Journ.' for 1853, p. 295.)

§ Wood's 'Oxus,' p. 379.

|| The name of *Tash-kurghán*, or "the stone fort," is certainly of recent origin. Mirza Hyder, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashídí*, who wrote in about A.D. 1535, was apparently unacquainted with the name, though in passing direct from the Kara-korum defile to Vakhán by Raskam and Tagh-dum-bash (both of which he names), he must have traversed the Tashkurghán district. In describing the upper course of the Yarkend River, he speaks of the district of *Sarik-kúl*, ساریک کول, as the point where the stream that has been hitherto running west turns to the north-east, and this is, I believe, the true form of the name of Sirkul, or Sir-i-kol, which even at the present day is used indifferently with Tash-kurghan for the tract in question. The Persian historians of Jenghiz Khan have also all preserved the name of *Sarik-kúl* as that of the district between Yarkend and Badakhshan where the rebel *Kushluk* was captured, and Quatremère has found a notice of the same district in *Rashid-ed-dín*. 'Not. et Ext.,' tome xiv.

Greeks as the “Stone Towers;” and, as we descend the river, traces of the old *viháras* and *stupas*, commemorated by the Buddhist travellers, ought to be still found spread over the whole face of the country. Wood mentions three positions on the Penja, in Wakhán, where there were ruins of the pre-Islamic times—at Kila’ Zanguebar, Kakah, and Sumri, in the neighbourhood of Kúndút;\* and it is possible that this last-named mound may mark the site of the ancient temple of Buddha, with suspended and self-turning dome, which Hiuen-Tsang describes at Hoen-to-to, the capital of She-ki-ni, or Shignán.† Another very curious region, which seems to abound in antiquities, but of which we know very little from actual observation, is the country along the great bend of the Oxus from the ruby mines to the junction of the Badakhshán River. This district was named *Ta-mo-si-tie-ti* by the Chinese, a name which long survived in the *Termistát* of the Arabs, one of the chief towns of Khutl, and it was said to contain ten convents.‡

p. 222. In the Chinese astronomical tables of the last century, *Tash-kurghán* is named *Karshu* by the Jesuit fathers, probably out of deference to historical tradition (for I cannot believe that such a title was then in current use); and *Sirikul*, in the same table, would seem to be a lake to the north-east of that city, the locality agreeing very well with the indication of Mirza Hyder, but being utterly irreconcilable with the position of the *Sir-i-kul*, or Lake Victoria of Wood, which was 100 miles further west. See Michell’s ‘Central Asia,’ p. 522. It may also be noticed that in three different passages where Mir Izzet Olleh, in 1813, refers to the district of *Tash-kurghán*, he uses the name of *Serkul*, or *Sir-i-kol*, though at the same time he puzzles us sadly by placing this district of *Sir-i-kol* at the distance of only three or four days’ journey from the head of the Terek Pass (‘Journ. R. Asiat. Soc.,’ vol. vii. pp. 297, 299, and 322). The name of *Sarik-kul* (or *Sir-i-kol*) has never applied, I believe, at any time, ancient or modern, to Wood’s lake. The left-hand valley leading up to Pamír from Wakhán was called the “*Dereh-i-Sarik-kul*,” because it was the high road to *Sarik-kul* or *Tash-kurghán*, and not because it led to the lake. Wood’s error, however, has now become almost classical.

\* Wood’s ‘Oxus,’ p. 333. The Zanguebar of Wood is named *Zang* both in Md. Amin’s route (‘Davies’ Report,’ Appendix, p. ccclvii.), and in Hayward’s ‘Route,’ viii., No. 14. I know nothing of Kakah, or Sumri, or Kúndút, as they are not mentioned in the routes either of Md. Amin or of Abdul Mejíd, who both passed up the valley of the Penja. The name of Langar-Kish, which Wood applies to the station near the junction of the two upper arms of the Oxus, and where the road to the eastward bifurcates (Langar-Vakhán in Abdul Mejíd’s route, and Langar-Zang in Md. Amin’s), recalls to mind the mount *Kish*, of the Bundelesh, from whence there were two roads conducting to *Kang-díz* (or Turkestán). The passage is very corrupt (‘Zend Avesta,’ tome ii. p. 367), but *Kish* would seem to be connected both with *Boum*, or Pamír, and with *Sejda*, or the *Tsung-ling* Mountains.

† ‘Vie de Hiuen-Tsang,’ p. 270. The modern Shignán is lower down the river than Vakhán, in which district Kúndút is situated; but Vakhán does not appear at all in the Chinese accounts, and we must suppose, therefore, that the interval between Badakhshán and Pamír was filled up in ancient times with *Shekiná* to the north of the Oxus, and *Tamositeiti* to the south.

‡ There is no name in the Arabic geography of these regions that has been more disfigured than *Termistat*. It is only in the earliest writer we have, Ibn Khordadbeh, that the *r* has been preserved. In all the others, *Istakhri*, *Iba*

There are also in the vicinity the ruins of at least two extensive cities, which date from Buddhistic times, one of which, to the westward, is named Barbarrah by Wood, but Kafir Derra by Gardiner, who visited the site from Kharlúkh, on the Kokcha; while the other, on the eastern side of the district, is described, in great detail, by Gardiner under the name of Shoh; the true form of the name, as it is pronounced at present in the country, being Sheva.\* Near the former ruins, Gardiner also observed the remains of a colossal horse in pitchstone, which agrees singularly well with the Chinese account of the magical horse, who dwelt in a cave on Mount Pho-li, south of the Oxus, but to the north of the capital of Tokharistan.† Probably all the ancient mounds in this part of the country, at Kurghán-tepbeh and Kurreh-tepbeh, on the right bank of the Oxus, as well as at Turgi Tepbeh and Shirwán,‡ on the left bank, would be found, if they were excavated, to contain Buddhist relics; and there must be also many sculptured caverns of the same sect, like those described by Gardiner at Shoh and Abba Geth, and by Moorcroft at Takht-i-Rustúm and Hazarsoom, on the river of Khulm.§ I

Haukal, Jyhání, Birúní, Edrísi, even in the accurate Ibn Dusteh, the *r* has been corrupted to *l*, and the usual form of the name is *Talmistat*, or *Tamalistat*. I have everywhere restored the form after the Chinese orthography. The town known to the Arabs under this name was only one stage from the famous stone bridge on the *Vakhsháb*, or *Surkháb* river, and may be the same as the modern *Kuláb*; but in the time of Hiuen-Tsang the district must have extended much further to the eastward, being, in fact, conterminous with Pamír. ('Vie de Hiuen-Tsang,' p. 270.)

\* Wood's 'Oxus,' p. 395, and Gardiner's 'Mem.' in the 'Beng. Asiat. Journ.' for 1853, pp. 289, 291. Gardiner is confused as usual, but Khooleek, 37 miles north-east of Kunduz, can only be the Koorloough (properly called *Kharlokh* or *Qarluq*, from the well-known Turkish tribe) of Abdul Mejíd, where he crossed the Kokcha. Gardiner's account of Shoh is certainly very curious, and must have some foundation in fact. The river Sheva is laid down in Wood's map as joining the Oxus below Shignán, and Pundit Munphool reports that at present the Sheva Valley, from whence the reigning Mírs of Badakhshán have drawn their origin, is the most fertile district in the province.

† Gardiner's 'Mem.,' p. 290; and 'Nouv. Mél. Asiat.,' tome i. p. 245.

‡ Kurghán Tepbeh, on the right bank of the Oxus, near the junction of the *Surkháb*, is unnoticed by Wood, who passed along the opposite bank of the river, but is laid down in most of the maps, and is very frequently mentioned by Gardiner, though the orthography of the name is sadly bungled in his printed 'Memoir.' It probably marks the site of *Halaverd* or *Ἀλιχόδρα*. I only know of Kurreh Tepbeh, which may be the old *Kovádian*, from the route of the Bokhara force, in its recent invasion of Badakhshán, the troops, after the capture of Deh-i-now, having first debouched on the Oxus at Kurreh Tepbeh, and then marched on to Kurghán Tepbeh. Wood applies the name of Turgi Tepbeh to a large plain on the left bank of the river, but the title must be derived from some particular mound, which in all probability marks the site of one of the old capitals. Shirwán seems to have faced the old *Sálaserái* of Timur's wars, and to have covered one of the principal passages of the river.

§ See Gardiner's 'Mem.,' *loc. cit.*, and Moorcroft's 'Travels,' vol. ii. It is much to be regretted that the antiquities described (pp. 402 and 410) by Moorcroft have not been since more accurately examined. Gardiner also describes some most extraordinary ruins and caves in the Deh-Kundi country, near the source of

should expect, again, important results from explorations on the site of Termid, and between that city and Balkh; for at Termid, the massive masonry of whose walls along the banks of the river was noticed by the Arab geographers,\* there were several convents, with stupas and miraculous images of Buddha; while at Po-li and Ti-wei, between the river and Balkh, there were other two stupas, covering relics which dated from the time of Buddha himself.† The ruins, however, of the city of Balkh itself should be the great treasure-house of Buddhist antiquities.‡ Here there was the famous convent, built, as Hiuen-Tsang says, by the first king of the country, and containing both an image of Pi-sha-men (Vaisrav ana, "the God of Wealth"), and a statue of Buddha, of extraordinary richness, besides numerous relics of the utmost rarity. Attached to the convent also was a *stupa* 200 feet in height, covered with a most brilliant casing, and a *vihāra* of peculiar sanctity, which contained some hundreds of monumental pillars of the saints. It is probable that the Mahomedans, in describing the famous Buddhist idol-temple of Balkh, classed all these buildings together.§ At any rate, the name of *Nau-behár*, نوہار, by which

the river of Balkh. He calls the place *Moh-zarkhala*, or "the buried wealth of Moh" (?), and his account savours strongly of the marvellous; but that there must be some truth in it, I infer from a very similar notice which was published by Wilford in 1799, on the authority of a traveller who had visited the spot. Wilford gives the place the name of *Mohi*, like Gardiner, and says it is on the road between Bamiyán and Balkh. Compare 'Asiat. Res.' vol. vi. p. 464, with 'Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal' for 1853, p. 383. Could Gardiner have copied from Wilford?

\* Julien's 'Si-yu-ki,' tome i. p. 25; 'Journ. Asiatique,' 6th ser., tome v. p. 270; 'Edrisi,' tome i. p. 273; Yacút *in voce*, &c. The names of Termid and Termistat are probably derived from the tribe of Termi (Ta-mi in Chinese), who dwelt in the neighbouring mountains to the south.

† Compare 'Vie de Hiuen-Tsang,' p. 65, with 'Si-yu-ki,' tome i. p. 32. I have not been able to identify either of these sites.

‡ The name of Balkh is usually represented in Chinese by the form of *Fo-ko-lo* ('Vie de Hiuen-Tsang,' p. 65 *sqq.*), but in the 'Si-yu-ki' we have the various readings of *Po-ho* and *Fo-ko*. Now there is no reason whatever for the lapse of the *l* in the Chinese name of Balkh, and I am inclined, therefore, to think that *Fo-ko* really represents a different form of the name, especially as Birúni in the *Canún* gives the reading of باقی, *Baki*, as the ancient title of the city, which is in all probability corrupted from the original orthography of *Bakhdī*, as it appears in the 'Vendidad.'

§ For the Buddhist account of Balkh, compare 'Si-yu-ki,' tome i. p. 29 *sqq.* with 'Vie de Hiuen-Tsang,' p. 64 *sqq.* The best Arabic accounts of the ancient city, and especially of the famous temple of *Nau-behár*, are to be found in *Shamsi* (MS.), in *Masúdí* (French translation, tome iv. p. 48), and especially in Yacút *in voce*. A portion of Yacút's notice is given in 'Dict. Géo.-Hist. de Perse,' par M. Barbier de Meynard, p. 571, but the whole article would be well worth translating. Mons. Pauthier, in his 'Marco Polo,' p. 108 *sqq.*, has collected together a good many notices of Balkh and the *Nau-behár*, both from Arabic authors and from modern travellers, but he has not recognised, nor indeed has any one, I believe, up to the present time recognised, the true etymology of the latter name.

the temple was known, is nothing more than a Persian rendering of the Sanscrit नव विहारा, *Nava-vihára*, "the New Convent," or *Na-po-seng-kialan*, which is the name given to it by Hiuen-Tsang;\* while the high pinnacle, from which a silken pennon floated of 100 cubits in length, can only refer to the adjoining *stupa*; and in the Chinese account it is the third building, the rendezvous of foreign scholars, which is alone called a *vihára*.† I attach no great credit to General Ferrier's assertion that he found bricks stamped with cuneiform legends among the ruins of Balkh. The Achæmenian Persians, as far as we know, never used such bricks, and it seems in the highest degree improbable that the Scythians of Elymais and the Persian Gulf—the only other people to whom such inscriptions could have belonged—should have penetrated so far to the eastward; the more especially as there is no single inscribed monument in the intervening space of 1500 miles to connect the early civilisation of Western Persia with that of the Oxus.‡ It may be

\* The meaning and etymology of the Chinese *Seng-kia-lan*, has been much disputed. The views of Remusat and Bournouf may be seen in 'Foe-koue-ki,' p. 19, note 5. Wilson hazarded the conjecture that *Kia-lan*, which is often used alone, was orthographically equivalent to *Vihára* ('Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.,' vol. v. p. 111), but this view has not been sustained. It has been decided, indeed, by Julien, that the true Sanscrit original is *Sangh-áráma*, or "the garden of the priests," and Mr. Beal gives the following detailed explanation:—"The *Sangh-áráma* includes the *Vihára*, or chapel, the various apartments of the priests, and the surrounding grounds,—what we should call a college."—'Buddhist Travels,' p. 9, note 2. Practically, however, the word replaces the Sanscrit *Vihára*, whenever the two forms can be compared.

† It is particularly worthy of remark that the distinguishing feature of the *Nau-behár*, according to the Arabic authors, was the enormous length of these long pennons of silk which floated from the summit of the temple, and one of which, on the occasion of a sudden squall, was carried by the wind to Termid, 50 miles off, while the very same characteristic is indicated in the epithet of *eredhwo drafsham*, or "the lofty bannered," which is attached to the name of *Bahdim* in the original legend of the creations of Ormazd in the 'Vendidad.' See 'Zend. Avesta,' tome i. Part II. p. 266; Brockhaus's 'Vendidad,' p. 50, and Bournouf's 'Yaçna, Not. et Eclair.' p. cx. Are we to suppose then that the 'Vendidad' is no older than "the first king of this country," who, according to Hiuen-Tsang, built the *Nau-behár*, or did the Buddhists continue the long floating pennons on their temple, which had belonged to the original Zoroastrian edifice?

‡ I observe from a note to p. 110 of Pauthier's 'Marco Polo,' that on some former occasion I have been sanguine enough to admit the genuineness of Mons. Ferrier's asserted discovery, and have sought to assign the inscriptions in question to the *Kushán*. (I see that Pauthier quoted from a note to Ferrier's 'Travels,' p. 207.) How I could have been so rash, however, I can hardly understand, as both Moorcroft and Burnes distinctly state that no remains of antiquity at all are at present visible at Balkh. With regard to the *Kushán*, it is certain that that tribe when at the head of the *Yue-chi* Pentarchy, in the 2nd century B.C., did hold Balkh, and the name of *Kush* was in consequence for a long time afterwards attached to the city, (compare the statement to this effect in 'Yacút,' in toce *Iskenderieh*, with the well-known passages in Moses of Choren's 'Geography,') but it is to the last degree improbable that the Central Asian *Kushán* of the 2nd century B.C. can have been in any way connected with the Elymaeans of the Persian Gulf, who flourished six centuries earlier.

assumed, I think, that Bakhdi, joined in the 'Vendidad' with Sungd and Merv, must certainly represent Bakhtar or Balkh,\* and that there is thus evidence of its having been one of the earliest Zoroastrian settlements; but if Hiuen-Tsang be right in ascribing a *stupa*, a short distance west of the city, to the time of Kasyapa, Magism must have yielded to Buddhism in the valley of the Oxus at a very early period;† and there can be no truth whatever in the popular tale of the Court of Gushtasp and the successful preaching of Zoroaster, at Balkh. The 'Bundehesh' itself, indeed, has preserved a legend which is fatal to the theory of a dominant Magism in Bactria at this period; for, in the description of *Vadkeish*, or Badgheis—a district to the south-west of Balkh—there is a notice of *Bakiser*, "of the poplars," where Afrasiáb of Turán founded a strong and flourishing settlement, making it a rampart (against the spread of Zoroastrianism). Now, *Bakiser* (or *Baghishúr*, as it is named by the Arab geographers) is a well-known small town of Badgheis, west of the Murgháb. The name is remarkable, from being formed of *Bagh*, "god," and *Eshwar*, the ordinary title of Siva,‡ whose worship we know from other sources to have been connected with Bactrian Buddhism;§ and the tradition, therefore, in all probability, points to the esta-

\* It is true that Bourouf ('Yaçna, Not. et Eclair.' p. ex.) prefers to identify Bakhdi with Badgheis, and that Khanikoff ('Ethnog. de la Perse,' p. 37) approves of this explanation; but there is really nothing to recommend it, either geographically or etymologically. The statement of Bíruní that Balkh was anciently called باقى, whether that form be read *Bakí* or *Baktí*, would seem to settle the question.

† Kasyapa, as the predecessor of Sakya Muni, must date at least from the 8th or 9th century B.C., and it is quite possible that Buddhism prevailed in the valley of the Oxus from that early period; I think, indeed, we may gather from Persian tradition that Buddhism must have been the faith of the kings of Balkh up to the time of Darius Hystaspes, when a religious reformer (the so-called Zoroaster) first introduced the fire worship; for it is expressly said that Lohorasp, the father of Gashtasp, withdrew at a late period of his life into ascetic retirement in the *Nau-behár*, which was certainly, from its foundation, a Buddhist temple and convent.

‡ See 'Zend Avesta,' tome ii. p. 366, for this very curious notice of *Bakiser*. No European that I am aware of has explored this district between the Murgháb and the Heri-rúd, except along the high roads to the north of Herat, and we are without the means, therefore, of knowing whether any traces of the Turanian (or Buddhist) settlement, "a place like *Rum*, a city of triumph and delights," are yet to be seen. According to the geographers, the place was named indifferently *Bagh* and *Baghishúr* ('Yacút' in *roce*), just as in Sanscrit *Bhag* and *Eshwar* are used indifferently as names for Siva, the compound *Bhagéswara* being further a kindred title with *Somesvara*, *Rámesvara*, &c. The Puráñas also contain a tradition that *Eshvara* dwelt in *Ketumála*, which was the valley of the Oxus and the neighbouring mountains. (See 'Asiat. Res.,' vol. viii. p. 359.)

§ I refer especially to the emblem of Siva, the famous hill of *Nandi*, which is found on the coins of Kadphises, and of several other of the Indo-Scythic kings of Bactria, who were unquestionably Buddhists.

blishment of the furthest Buddhist settlement to the westward, the entire region to the east of this point being essentially Buddhist up to the period of the Arab conquest.\*



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**XXI.—Notes to accompany the Map of Tlahuantin-Suyu, or the Empire of the Yncas.† By TRELAWSY SAUNDERS.**

THE distribution of the tribes which occupied distinct parts of Peru up to the time of the Spanish Conquest is described with much precision in Mr. Markham's paper, and called for corresponding attention in the construction of the accompanying map, which has been prepared expressly to illustrate it. The map is, it is believed, the first contribution to the historical cartography of the Peruvian Andes. It covers the entire period of the Yncarian Empire, from its rise in pre-historic times, to its sudden fall under the Spaniards; and traces its aggrandisement step by step. It is impossible to follow a narrative of conquest, or to study the distribution of nations and tribes, without desiring to understand the aspects of the country under review, and to have those aspects placed before the eye in a graphic map.

The Peruvian Government has been foremost in excellent intentions to supply such a want in the case of Peru. An elaborate geography and a handsome folio atlas were published in 1863, at the expense of that State, by the learned brothers Mateo and Mariano-Felipe Paz Soldan. Both works are merely compilations, or little more, and unfortunately render manifest the inadequate character of the materials existing for such purposes. The author, indeed, fairly avows in his Preface the defective basis of his labours, and proclaims his want of those systematic investigations without which geographical science cannot be satisfied. In this want Peru indeed is only on a par with the rest of South America; and geographers for the present must be content to contemplate, as in a dream, the time

\* The Barmecide Buddhists of Balkh intermarried with the kings of Saghánián, and when Kotaibeh, who was sent by Hejjáj to reduce Khorassán, crossed the Oxus, he found the king of Saghánián confederated with the kings of Ahrún (Arheng of Timur, and Olini of Chinese) and Shumán against him. Another ally also is mentioned by Beladhorí, the king of Kífián (or "Kipin"?). See Goeje's Beladhorí. Ps. 417 and 419.

† Vide Mr. C. R. Markham's paper, "On the Geographical Positions of the Tribes which formed the Empire of the Yncas" ('Journal R. G. S.', vol. xli. p. 281), which this map, compiled by Mr. Trelawny Saunders, is intended to illustrate.